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THE

JOURNAL

OF THE

SIAM SOCIETY

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VOLUME XXIII.

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(PART 1)

BANGKOK

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The Indian Religion

of the

Goddess Shakti.

BY DR. HANS KOESTER.

During the three years which I spent in India, from 1925 to 1927, I had the good fortune to travel in many different parts of that vast territory, both east, north, west, and south, visiting in turn the Shan States in Burma, Kashmere, the west coast of Bombay, and Southern India and Ceylon. There were two things which from a spiritual point of view attracted my attention most, and these were the type of Buddhism prevailing in Burma and Ceylon, and that special branch of Indian religion and philosophy, almost unknown in its essence in Europe, called the Religion of the Goddess Shakti, which flourishes in Bengal and Kashmere. Personal contact with many Indian friends, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure to make, gave me the chance of studying Indian spiritual thought more deeply and, if I may say so, in a more live manner than it is possible to do from books only, even if they are old Sanskrit texts. I was honoured by an invitation from the President of the Mahabodi Society in Calcutta to speak before an audience of well-known Buddhists on two anniversaries of the birthday of the Lord Buddha, and I also had the opportunity to deliver lectures at meetings of the Indian Philosophical Congress at Calcutta in 1925 and at Benares in 1926. There, while staying for some time with Indian friends with whom I was in sympathy by reason of a certain similarity in our spiritual-philosophical researches, I realised the strength and depth of eastern spiritual thought.

I do not wish to speak about Buddhism here in this country, where Buddhism plays such an important role, before learned people from whom I would prefer to learn. I have written a short article on "Living Buddhism" in the newly

started magazine of the Buddhist Society in Calcutta which, I was glad to see, was kindly received by its readers. My object to-night is to give you a short lecture on a particular branch of Indian spiritual thought, the religion of the Goddess Shakti, which is still unknown in its true meaning in Europe and, I must say, even in the greater part of India. What I have read about it in the different books on Indian philosophy have been only simple and short allusions, containing more often than not rather erroneous ideas. In that excellent work on "Hinduism and Buddhism," by Sir Charles Eliot, there are only a few remarks on Shaktism, as this religion is usually called, and these describe its deep philosophy and ritualism in a way which cannot be regarded as altogether impartial. The European attitude towards this religious system seems to me to be much influenced by not particularly well informed opponents of it, from whom, I imagine, Sir Charles Eliot has gathered his information. That is understandable because, as he himself remarks in a footnote, the new text books of Shaktism, which have now been published by Arthur Avalon, were at that time not available to him. These text books, which include introductions and some special interpretations, give for the first time a critical and philosophic foundation to this religious system and throw an illuminating light on this very important branch of human thought. I have the privilege to be personally acquainted with and, I may add, to be a friend of that Indian personality, Arthur Avalon, the editor of the text books of Shaktism, who from modesty, and following an old and good Indian tradition, is hiding his personal name under the above pseudonym. There are now, I believe, over twenty volumes, including the most important Maha Nirvana Tantra, which means the Philosophy of the Great Liberation, published under the patronage and with the financial assistance of the great Maharaja of Mithita on the borders of Bengal. It is good to know that there are in India men like this Maharaja, whom I had the pleasure to meet personally and who spends a good part of his great fortune in furthering the revival of the spiritual influence of Shaktism, to which he personally adheres. There has been founded by him, for

the purpose of enlightening the learned public on this subject, a special society of which he is the founder-president. This society which, if small in the number of its members, is important by reason of their personalities, intends to dedicate a complete collection of all the published books on Shaktism to His Majesty the King of Siam, who, as "the Upholder of the Buddhist Faith," is regarded by them at the same time as the principal stronghold and spiritual rock of eastern culture and thought.

In making an attempt to describe to you Shaktism, my object to-day is to present you with a sketch of the metaphysical aspect of the religion as compared with other systems of philosophical thought. It is not my intention here to dwell on the ritual and ceremonial aspect of the religion which would require a lecture of its own. However, at the close I propose to give you a line of comparison which may be drawn between one of the fundamental tenets of Shaktism, and a certain aspect of Christianity and Northern Buddhism.

The expression, Shaktism, is derived from the word "Shakti." The word Shakti means "Power" both latent and manifest. When personalised it means the Devi of Power; she is Devā. The Devi Shakti is the power aspect of the supreme spirit. The doctrines and ritual of Shaktism are contained in a special branch of the holy Scriptures of India, called Tantra Shastra, which acknowledges the authority of the great Veda. "Veda" means the God inspired word which has from the oldest times been the foundation of Indian spiritual thought and culture; but it is not confined to what is called the four Vedas. They are but parts of it and based on the one Veda—*for* 'Vak' or 'Logos' is one.

Shaktism is an eminently practical religion. Practically the whole content of its scriptures consists in rules and ritual by which the higher realisation of the spiritual truth may be gained. This way of personal spiritual attainment, or Yoga, which is known to all

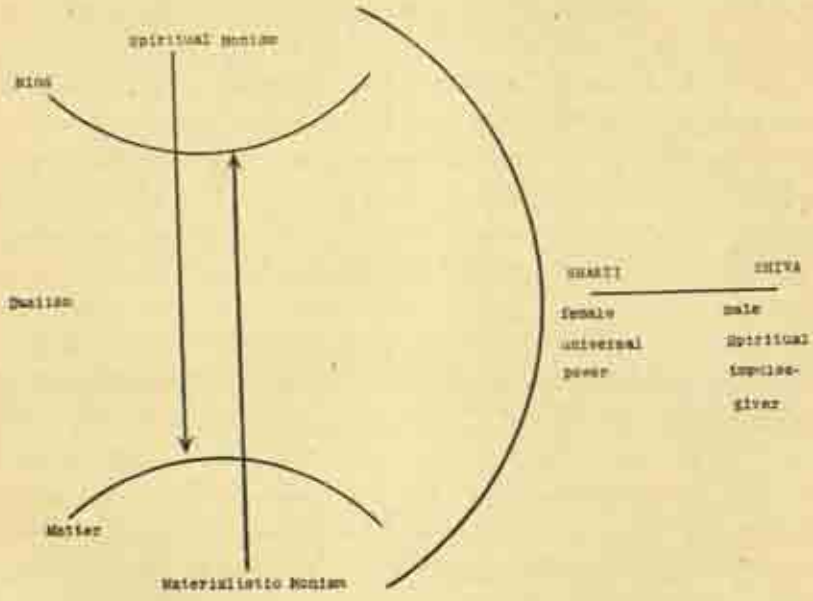
Indian religions, is called in Shaktism, Sadhana. Very often the remark can be found in the Tantrik texts that by merely pondering about the husks of words nothing is done, i. e., mere book-knowledge is useless—but that only by practically touching the truth itself can liberation, bliss and the highest consciousness be won.

This truth, to which Shaktism is devoted with all its energy, is represented by the conception of the goddess Shakti. Such a conception, that truth unveils itself spiritually in a female aspect, can only be grasped with difficulty by the European mind. The European mind is not accustomed to see differences between male and female in the spiritual world, and finds them only as far as physical sexual differences can still be discerned. But the idea of a female quality of the spirit has always been known to the deeper minds of humanity and stretches through the whole inner history of culture. Leaving aside the cults of aboriginal tribes, animism, etc., there may be mentioned, in addition to the Goddess Shakti of Indian culture, the conception of Isis in the Egyptian religion, of the figure Kwannon in China, the idea of Eve in Babylonian times and many others leading up to that connected with the Madonna of the Roman Catholic Church. Certainly there are very interesting and important differences in all these great conceptions; but it would go too far here to treat of this special subject. It is mentioned only to show that female spirituality has always played an important role in human thought.

The Goddess Shakti is the "power" which pervades the whole of the universe, and from which the Universe has emanated. There is nothing within the manifest world which is not Shakti in its essence. The manifest world is mind and matter, that is to say, all that we call our thought, will, imagination, etc. is mind, and all the realm of nature is matter. She—in her highest aspect—is pure spirit or pure consciousness—as such she is called Chit-Shakti—but her nature and essence become apparent also in all that we are aware of through our senses. So She is matter—substance too—and as such

She is called Maya-Shakti. Here is no antagonism between the spiritual and the natural sides of the universe, since she is both of them.

In order to illustrate more clearly this important principle of Shaktism, I would like to compare it with the structure of other philosophical systems in Europe or India. It may be said that all the great and well-known philosophical expressions of human thought are either monistic or dualistic, that is to say, have as their basis one or two original eternal units. Let me show it in a diagrammatic way. The dualistic view presupposes two basic units, Mind and Matter:

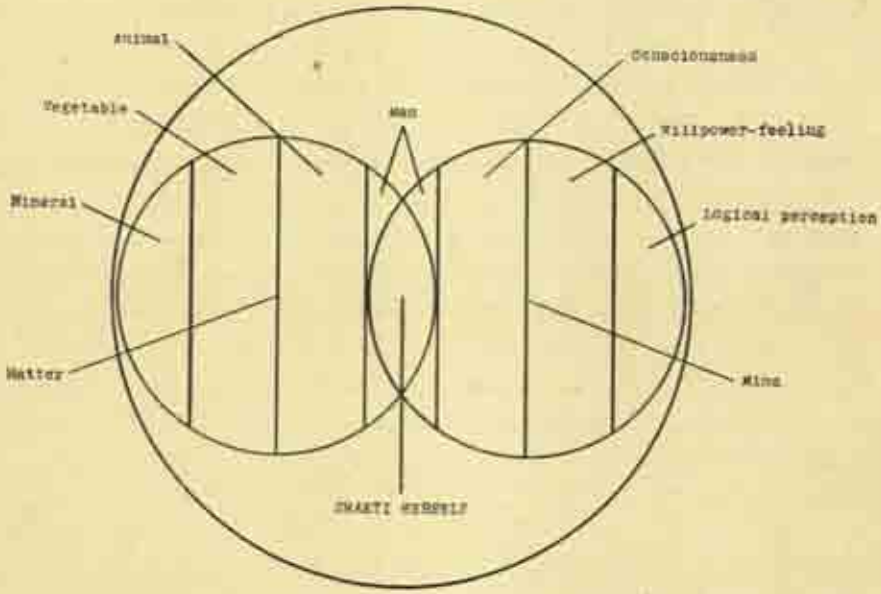


Both of these are absolute and ultimate, and everything can be derived from either of them; whereas monism takes either mind or matter as the single existing principle, of which the other is only an appearance, a different aspect or a mere effect. Taking mind as

such a principle, the expression is called "Spiritual Monism", meaning that the Spirit is the only ultimate true reality and all the material world is an "illusion" or its effect, issuing from it (a downward line would indicate this); on the other hand, regarding matter as the only basic ultimate reality, mind and spirit have no substance of their own and are mere products of matter, which could be shown by a line going upwards. Now Shaktism is something quite different from the denominations of Monism and Dualism, in so far as Shakti lies behind both mind and matter, without giving preponderance to either of them. Mind and matter as represented by the created universe are Shakti, and Shakti is bound up with Shiva, the male spiritual element whose position in the system it is difficult to describe to the European mind, but who may be taken to represent the inert Spirit lying apart from, and unconnected with, the Universe, but whose touch is necessary to give to Shakti the impulse to create. Both of them, female universal Power, Shakti, and the male impulse-giver, Shiva, constitute therefore the spiritual background of the Universe. Thus in terms of philosophical thought Shaktism is neither wholly dualistic nor wholly monistic, but constitutes a monistic dualism or dualistic monism, a "two in one" or "one in two".

The follower of Shaktism, the worshipper of Shakti, is called Shakta. His conception of the Goddess is described in the Shakti Tantra Shastras, i. e., the holy scriptures of Shaktism, often in a very poetical way. Whereas we speak of Mother Nature only in a comparative manner, for the Shakta it is absolute reality. Nature is Her body. Her presence is personally felt by him, when he is standing on the fertile ground of the earth; he touches Her life in the blossoms of the pure lotus-flower. She animates all living creatures. His own body is a part of Her great body. Worshipping Her in all Her different forms, he will find Her light, too, within his mind and consciousness. Thus, to the Shakta the whole universe of mind and matter reveals itself in its unity; he see before him Her great body which he adores; Her sacred feet, Her heart, Her mind.

It might be useful to describe this poetical view, which is at once physical and transcendental, by means of another diagram. We may for this purpose represent matter and mind by two circles which intersect each other like this:



Where they intersect, there is Shakti, so to speak, in Herself. But Her influence, Her being spreads into the whole realm of matter as well as that of mind. Nowhere is She absent, but Her presence is less distinct, is somehow veiled in those parts which are further from the centre, where She is in Herself. Thus, for the sake of linear explanation, the mineral world—the solid matter—would have to be situated the furthest from Her, because there, as for instance in stone, She—Life Herself—is much veiled, stone to the ordinary human view appearing to be dead. Nearer to Her is the realm of plants, where, with their growing and blossoming, She already becomes more apparent. I need hardly remind you of the well-known researches by Sir Jagadis Bhose of the University of Calcutta, who is endeavouring to make visible the actual

heart-beat of plant life. Then, in due order with regard to Her would come the world of animals, which being animated have within their life—although perhaps still unconsciously—some access to Her. Lastly, within the highly developed organism of man She, for the first time, is inherent in her essential being. There She finds the possibility of being consciously awakened, so that she appears to him, who is looking and striving for her, in Her true nature as Shakti herself. The other side—the mind-circle—comprises the mental faculties of man such as consciousness, will, feeling and logical perception, which, with regard to their aptitude for Her realisation, may be put in such order. The directions of development therefore go in the matter-circle from left to right—from stone, vegetable, animal to man, where Shakti will be realised; in the mind-circle, from right to left—from mere logical thinking to feeling, will-power, consciousness to man—where Shakti may be realised. Thus, as you can see from this diagram, everywhere there is Shakti. She is inherent in everything and at the same time transcends every thing; by meditation and religions ceremonies She may be realized everywhere, being inherent in the whole physical universe as it is given to us. And, moreover, above this we may touch Her in Her transcendental aspect as well. When She appears in Her true nature, then there is no more mind or matter, but only She Herself, in no sense bounded by such limitations. As such a one She may well be represented by a circle, *the universe in its true aspect.*

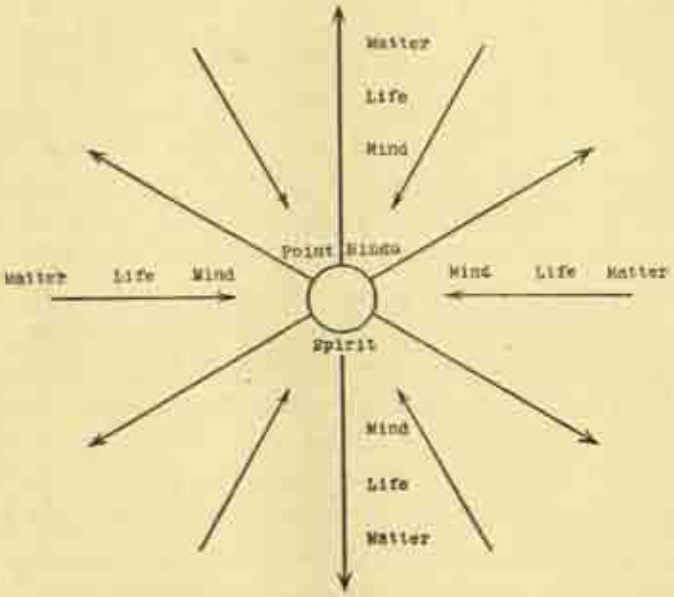
To the European it may perhaps at first sight appear to be a mere poetical presentment and but little different from the theory of vitalism of modern natural science or from ancient animism in the religious aspect. But with regard to Vitalism, even if there be similarities the essential difference seems to me, that the Vitalism of the natural sciences is based principally upon the conception of a material world which is regarded as being animated by, for instance, the "élan vitale" of Bergson. But Shaktism holds its standpoint entirely on the spiritual side. She, the great mother, exists, and what in the material world is vitalised or animated, certainly comes

from Her, but is only a veiled appearance of Her, who in Her true being can only be experienced spiritually. And Shaktism is also not animism, if by animism may be understood the primitive idea of everything being ghost-like, being animated by "Phi" or spirits, resulting in as many ghostly spirits as there are different things. Shaktism represents a spiritual unity, all different things being united within Her always greater aspect.

The principal doctrine of "Shaktism", that the whole Universe of mind and matter is created by Her, the Powerful Goddess Shakti, is described in full detail, with Indian accuracy in spiritual matters, in the Cosmogony of Shaktism. It must be understood that every great Indian philosophical system has its own Cosmo-Genesis, that is, its special conception of the evolution of the world and its beginning. As a matter of fact, every conception of life and the Universe requires such a foundation to give it the necessary firm hold. For Shaktism this source, out of which the Universe as mind and matter has evolved, is the female spiritual Power, Shakti, who is the Great Mother of the Universe. In Her most concentrated form, when Her Power is just ready to expand, She is represented by a point called Bindu. This Bindu Point is mere Spirit. Everything manifested and created in this Universe has Spirit as its source and essence. In the Christian Cosmo-Genesis of the Gospel of St. John it is called "logos" or "the word". By expansion the Spiritual Power Shakti becomes, going through many different stages, Mind, Life, and Matter. She—the Goddess—is contained, in all the manifestations of the universe, but She remains, so to speak, unexhausted by being the material cause of the Universe. She in Her essence remains unaffected and greater than all the created world.

In a diagrammatic way this cosmogenetic evolution can be represented like this. The active, most concentrated Point Bindu is red, the colour of activity. From this point the lines of evolution

expand through the stages of mind and life towards matter, the mineral world. So the material world stands not first but last in the evolution of the Universe.



According to the general doctrine of Indian metaphysics, this whole created universe is not everlasting but will one day be dissolved. The life or appearance of the universe lasts, as it is figuratively expressed, one day of Brahma, the Almighty, that is, millions and millions of years. After that the whole expansion contracts again in the opposite direction; first, matter will be dissolved, then life and mind will disappear till it reaches the state of the beginning, the spiritual Point, Bindu, where it will find its rest; until the dawn of a new day of Brahma, when a new creation will start. This Bindu Point is the great Goddess, the universal mother—womb—yoni—the creator and receiver of the Universe, which, as Shakti, is worshipped by the followers of Shaktism.

So the whole created world has as its creative Power Shakti, the Goddess, just as in this world the female element is constantly

maintaining it. But She, the creative Goddess, can do nothing without Him, the God, Shiva, just as no woman can bear fruit without the co-operation of the male element. The relation of Shakti to Shiva is of a very subtle, spiritual nature. He, Shiva, is in contrast to all creation, be it mind or matter. He is the underlying pure consciousness which is independent of, and superior to, all creation. In a very famous picture of Shaktism the goddess Shakti stands black-coloured on the white-coloured Shiva who lies inert. The symbolism is this. Shiva is white to represent a colourless form, since all colours belong to the created world, which is the domain of Shakti. He lies at absolute rest, since movement and activity belong to the created world, which is dependent on him, but not he on it. She, the Goddess, is black-coloured because, compared with the light of the spiritual world unmixed with any objective realisation, she is dark as the night; in all creation she is veiled in darkness, both her face and her raiment.

I have mentioned already that there can be found traces of Shakti in the conception of the Madonna of the Catholic Christian Church. As some of you may know, there exists in Czenstochau in Poland the famous sculpture of the so-called Black Madonna, who is much adored by the population. Why is she black? Well whatever kind of outer-influence may have taken place, the spiritual reason must be the same as in Shaktism. She, the Madonna, the creatrix femina, is dark, is spiritually veiled in darkness during the process of creation. She is the deep and creative night. Darkness, compared with the light of day, has always been regarded spiritually as the deeper element. The darkness of the body is intended to show that the personality belongs to the spiritual world as the creative background of all physical appearance. It is very remarkable, too, that near Barcelona in Spain, on Mount Serrat, a black Madonna with the Christ child on her knees is worshipped by the Catholic Church. This famous sculpture, is said to have been on this holy mountain for over a thousand years. Her throne shows an uncommon shape. She holds in her right hand a globe,

representing the Universe. Thus here, too, the conception seems to be that She, the Goddess-Madonna, is the Creator and Upholder of the whole Universe. In my opinion these figures—in their spiritual meaning—show the very deep connection which exists spiritually between East and West. And Shaktism may help to bring an understanding between East and West, the importance of which is always becoming more apparent.

One of the deepest secrets of Shaktism is the union of the highest spiritual male conciousness, Shiva, with the all-pervading female power, Shakti. As I have already mentioned, the all-powerful Shakti would not be able to create the universe out of Herself; She needs the touch of Shiva. This union of Shiva and Shakti takes place in the highest spiritual regions before anything has been created, so to speak, in the night of Brahma. Out of this union the Universe is born—Shakti evolves as mind and matter, whereas Shiva remains as the underlying background, unaltered. This highest spiritual state of union is inexpressible by words; but it is approximately circumscribed by the Sanskrit words; Sat—Chit—Ananda. Sat means Being; Chit means Consciousness, and when these are united with one another, there Ananda—Bliss—the highest spiritual bliss, is the issue. For the Shakta, as for the Hindu generally, the essence of the world is joy, bliss, ananda. Whenever truth, living truth, is approached or touched by man, then he feels that bliss of the union of Shiva and Shakti which is the origin of all life. The highest state of consciousness or liberation (Mukti) in Shaktism is the attainment, the spiritual realisation, of this highest, unchanging, eternal, absolute union of Shiva and Shakti within himself, into which his being is to be ultimately absorbed. The man who has realised this and transplanted himself into it is in his lifetime called Jivanmukta (liberated though living). In this union is everything essential contained.

But within space and time, within the world of separate things and forms,—in this world of limited experience in which we

are living—this highest union is interrupted. Shakti, being separated from Him, is, so to speak, in Her actual body distributed among all objective experience.

There is a deep and striking picture, a story of Indian mythology, which tells how the body of Shakti has been dismembered and has fallen in pieces into this world. Wherever any part of Her holy body is supposed to be lying, there an Indian temple has been built; to a certain extent comparable to the Stupas which are erected by Buddhists for the relics of the sacred body of Gautama. Everything in the objective appearance is individual on account of its being separated from that union, and its material substance or embodiment can be measured by the interval of that separation; the further away from the union, the more its spiritual essence is veiled.

It follows consequently that in every individual being, which to a certain extent becomes conscious of itself, there must be living a tendency to become liberated from this separation, to come back to this primordial union. "Back to the mother", it may be said, is the shortest expression for the spiritual aim of the whole of Indian culture and especially of Shaktism. A deeply-felt longing prevails within the religious mind of India; a longing like that of a child for its mother. It is important to note this, since it is this longing which gives the impulse to the means by which the aim of coming back to the Mother may be attained. These means are called the Yoga of Shaktism, i. e., Sadhana. The principles of Yoga are almost the same in all the different Indian systems, of which they form an essential part. By urging concentration of thought upon certain important ideas, they aim at giving to these ideas more strength and clearness than they usually have. The meditator excludes himself from all outer influences, in order to bring his mind into direct contact with the spiritual world. In the end he will eventually realise what his Scriptures have taught him, that his essence is Spirit, and his mind and body its manifestations. I may

mention here that a modern "western" way of "Yoga" has been introduced into Europe by the spiritual system, "Anthroposophy", of Dr. Rudolf Steiner. In all ages such kinds of spiritual endeavour have been practised. If man succeeds in actually realising the inner meaning of metaphysics, he becomes, as it is called, "initiated", that is, he becomes a citizen of the spiritual world, just as he is a citizen of the natural world by his physical birth. The Yoga of Shaktism specializes in conceptions of the Goddess Shakti. If She appears to the Shakta, as She is in Herself, the highest realisation, the Union with the mother is attained. Then the Shakta says: She I am, and feels himself full of the greatest spiritual bliss.

As I have already mentioned, Shaktism is an eminently practical Religion. It attempts an immediate realisation of truth by the practical methods of "Yoga" and has an abundance of rites and ceremonies. These vary according to the competency of the Shakta. The ritual has been rightly called the Art of Religion. The worshipper follows certain prescribed rules in his adoration, which give him the right direction. Every Religion knows the value of ritual —Buddhism as well as Christianity and Shaktism. I may mention here only a few special points, which distinguish the rites from all other similar cults in India.

It is well known what an important role the caste-system has always played in India. Even now the distinctions of the different castes are much observed, especially in the case of marriage. Principally the Brahmins, as the caste of priests—now there are Brahmins who are doctors of medicine, barristers, watchmen, etc.,—would never mix with other castes in their ritual worship. The Shakta, however, the worshipper of Shakti, does not pay any regard to these caste distinctions. The Brahma Shakta has no objection to worshipping the Goddess even with the Shudra outcast, the Pariah. Such a non-Indian uncommon attitude shows that the rites of Shaktism may have their source from abroad; it is not yet quite certain, but it is probable that the special rites of Shaktism have come to India from China through Tibet.

This would explain, too, the other striking feature of the Shakta-worship, which is also non-Indian—that during the ritual worship of Shakti it is allowed to eat meat and to drink wine. Everyone knows how the Hindus abhor the slaughter of animals; how the adoration of the cow is an essential part of their religion, which has been again and again emphasised, especially by Gandhi himself. The Shakta, however, eats meat and drinks wine during his worship of the Goddess Shakti. He feels himself spiritually above this custom. As in his view everything is She—the Goddess—there can be made no exception with regard to the offerings to Her.

The third unique quality of the Shakti-worship is the active participation of women in the ceremonies. Ordinarily women are always kept apart in India. Everyone has heard of the Purdah system, which holds in some parts of India the women-folk life-long in their houses. But the Shakta treats them as altogether equal; even more. She, his Wife, is regarded by him as his Shakti Goddess; She, the mother of his children, represents to him the Great Mother. Such an attitude is naturally reflected in the daily life of Shakti Hindu families, where the mother—quite contrary to Miss Mayo's statements in "Mother India"—is much venerated. There is the so-called Panchatattva Ritual—the most important ritual of Shaktism, which is still nowadays performed in Bengal. The name "Panchatattva" is derived from the words "Pancha", five, and "Tattva", elements. The five elements of this ritual are Wine, Meat, Fish, Parched Corn and Sexual Union. Men and women meet as equal partners. They sit together—the man beside the woman—in a circle, called Chakra. Following elaborate rites, they offer to the Goddess wine, meat, fish and corn. After that they take their meal, which consists of these four elements, the idea being that they unite themselves with Shakti in these products and fruits. The highest presentment of the Goddess for the Shakta is the woman who is sitting by his side. By uniting with her—according to the Maithuna rites—he experiences the bliss of the great union of Shiva and Shakti. Pro-

creation is the individual counterpart of Cosmic Creation. It must be understood that the purpose of the physical union of the Shakta with his Shakti in this ritual is not satisfaction of his physical senses but the spiritual realisation of the highest union of the individual with the Goddess, the Cosmic-Whole. It may be mentioned that, as far as I have heard, during the ceremonies in Bengal the last mentioned Maithuna rites are not actually performed but are only indicated, as for example by bowing to the woman sitting at his side in the Chakra. Nothing is wrong or forbidden according to Shaktism, if it is done with a pure heart and spiritual feeling. Certainly it is possible that, weak as man's nature is, abuses of this special rite have taken place—and it would be wrong to deny that they are in fact happening. But my intention here is to show its spiritual meaning and intention, which, in my opinion, cannot be affected by abuse in its interpretation; and the principle of the rite is sound, grand and spiritual.

All the rites of Shaktism, of which I have here mentioned only one, tend in such a direction as to awaken within him the spiritual and aesthetically productive forces of man. As soon as these usually slumbering forces are awakened, the Shakta knows and feels himself as being born again within the spiritual world. The Shakta says, "As I am born in my physical body from my mother, so I must be spiritually born again from my spiritual mother, the Goddess Shakti." By the grace of Shakti the Shakta himself becomes Brahma. As a matter of fact, every spiritual man strives for the attainment of such a state, of being reborn in the spiritual sense. Only the expressions are different and the means and ways vary. In Shaktism it is striking to notice with what absoluteness and how independently of all other systems of religion the physical appearance and the highest spiritual realisation are combined together. If Shakti is everywhere, then she is, too, in the bodily appearance of the women and there, however veiled, in her fullest essence. So he makes use of her for the greatest spiritual aim of man, namely *to be reborn by the grace of Shakti.*

Now I have said that this aim of being reborn within the spiritual motherhood is known to almost every religion, and, although Buddhism in its fundamental basis at first seems to be utterly different from Shaktism, yet Northern Buddhism knows well what is meant by Shakti. Mahayana Buddhism, as it is prevalent in Tibet, by which country Shaktism too has been much influenced, has introduced into its system during its development the Goddess Tara. She represents what Shakti is for Shaktism. She is the embodiment of all that within the spiritual realisation is distinctly female; and it is a very secret saying in esoteric Northern Buddhism that man, by being reborn from Tara, will become a Buddha, that is, will attain the highest spiritual state of life to which man is destined and for which he is striving. Within esoteric Christianity there is the picture of Jesus Christ lying in the stable-manger as the new-born child before the immaculate Virgin Mary. It is intended to portray not only the story of the historical birth of Jesus, but at the same time a representation of the idea that we all have to be reborn as such a Christ-child of the Virgin Mary, the Shakti of Christianity.

You see, there can be discovered, within so widely-differing religious systems as Shaktism, Northern Buddhism and Christianity, the same important idea as that of being reborn by the grace of Shakti as Brahma, of being reborn by Tara as a Buddha, and of being reborn by Madonna as a Christ. As a matter of fact, the female spiritual element as it is venerated by Shaktism, being a living truth, can to a certain extent become a combining factor to embrace the great cultural outlook both of the East and the West. Humanity is one over all the earth, and Womanhood is its essential part. In Shaktism the idea of the spiritual creative force of Womanhood finds its most absolute and exclusive expression. For this reason this system is so interesting and striking for anyone who takes the trouble to go more deeply into it. Shakti, as she is pleased to reveal herself to-day, is present, too, within the depths of European culture. It would take me too far afield to prove

it by further details. I would only mention that Goethe concludes his great poem, "Faust", with the words: "The eternal female is raising us". Certainly, Goethe had no knowledge of the system of Shaktism and of those texts which we are now privileged to study. But by his poetical inspiration he touched by himself the truth which we find so clearly expressed in the system of Shaktism. If one would try to express the deepest meaning which Shaktism may have for us in our days, it cannot be done better than by those words which the mystical chorus sings at the end of this great poem: Das Ewig Weibliche zieht uns hinan. "The eternal female is raising us".

NOTE SUR LA REVISION DES LOIS SIAMOISES EN 1805.

PAR

R. LINGAT.

Le meilleur de ce que nous savons sur l'histoire de la révision des lois en 1805 et sur la manière dont elle a été conduite nous est fourni par le บานทูล, sorte de préambule général qui se trouve reproduit en tête de tous les manuscrits issus de cette révision (1). Ce texte, qui est daté du jeudi, premier jour de la quinzaine claire du mois de Māgha, année du Rat, C. S. 1166 (31 Janvier 1805), commence par indiquer les circonstances qui ont amené le roi à ordonner la révision générale des lois du royaume. Comme pour la plupart des compilations et révisions partielles de la période d'Ayuthia, c'est une banale affaire judiciaire qui a donné lieu à cette œuvre considérable. Une dame Pòm, mariée au sieur Bũn Çri, ferronnier royal, avait présenté une demande en divorce; interrogé par le juge Phra: Kāsem, Bũn Çri avait déclaré que, sa femme ayant eu des relations adultères avec un certain Raxa At (Rājā Artha), il refusait le divorce. Le juge avait bien pris note de cette déposition, mais aux dires de Bũn Çri, il n'y aurait pas donné suite, aurait pris parti pour la dame Pòm, et aurait envoyé un dossier incomplet et tendancieux à la Cour des Luk Khũn, chargée, semble-t-il, conformément aux règles de la procédure, de rendre la décision. Les Luk Khũn, eux aussi, refusèrent de donner suite à la déclaration du mari, de voir, pourrait-on dire, une question préjudicielle dans l'accusation d'adultère rétorquée par le défendeur, et, se fondant sur une disposition légale qui confère à la femme le droit absolu de divorcer, accordèrent le divorce à la dame Pòm. Bũn Çri porta alors une plainte contre le juge Phra:

1.—Les références au บานทูล renvoient au manuscrit de พงษาวดาร ๒๓๑๗ publié dans ce journal, Vol. XXII, part 2, pp. 121-124.

Kāsem et le sieur Raxa At, et l'affaire vint devant le roi, par l'intermédiaire du Chāo Phya Çri Dharmarāja. Le roi trouva inique la décision des juges suprêmes, s'étonna que la loi admît la femme coupable au bénéfice du divorce (qui entraîne une séparation des biens, tandis que l'adultère est puni, outre l'amende, de la confiscation des biens de la femme au profit du mari). Il soupçonna que le manuscrit dont se servaient les Luk Khūn était fautif, et il ordonna au Chāo Phya : Phra : Khlāng de collationner le passage invoqué par les Luk Khūn à l'appui de leur décision sur le passage correspondant de deux autres manuscrits conservés, l'un à la Bibliothèque royale, l'autre dans les appartements du roi. Cette collation donna raison aux Luk Khūn, en ce sens que les trois textes contenaient une disposition identique, qui nous est donnée, au moins en substance, dans les termes suivants : "Alors même que le mari n'aurait commis aucune faute, si la femme veut divorcer, le divorce, étant demandé par la femme, devra être accordé (1)." Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de discuter si cette disposition met bien la décision des Luk Khūn à l'abri de toute critique ; il est possible, du reste, que les règles de l'ancienne procédure, qui nous sont très mal connues, s'opposassent à l'examen préalable de la question préjudicielle invoquée par le défendeur. Quoi qu'il en soit, le roi ne vit pas d'autre moyen pour faire triompher l'équité qu'une réforme législative. Mais, au lieu de se borner, comme ses prédécesseurs et lui-même avaient fait à tant de reprises, à une simple retouche de la disposition légale incriminée, il décida de faire procéder à une révision générale des collections législatives.

Il est évident que la pétition du sieur Bān Çri n'a été que le prétexte, ou, si l'on préfère, le motif prochain de la décision royale. Le préambule auquel nous nous référons, aussitôt après avoir relaté les incidents de cette affaire (qu'il laisse ensuite complètement de côté), expose la raison profonde qui a déterminé le roi à entreprendre une œuvre aussi considérable. Ce texte rappelle sans transition le célèbre *saṅghāyanāya* convoqué par le même roi, une quinzaine d'années auparavant, en vue de "réviser" les manuscrits existants

1.—ฎหมายเดิม 7d.

du Tipiṭaka et de restaurer le texte canonique (1). Or, les manuscrits renfermant les dispositions législatives, de même que les anciens manuscrits du Tipiṭaka, sont remplis de fautes et de contradictions (2), de telle sorte que l'administration de la justice est devenue difficile, comme l'étaient autrefois l'application de la discipline religieuse et l'instruction des fidèles. Ces défauts des recueils législatifs sont attribués expressément à la mauvaise foi des hommes qui, "égarés par la passion et n'ayant plus honte de leurs péchés" (3), n'ont pas craint d'altérer les textes dont ils étaient les dépositaires pour faire triompher leurs intérêts. Il importe donc de procéder, pour les collections législatives, à une "révision" pareille à celle qu'ont subie les collections canoniques. Ainsi, le roi prétend poursuivre sur le domaine laïque l'œuvre entreprise par lui avec succès sur le terrain religieux.

Ce rapprochement mérite d'être souligné, car il précise l'esprit dans lequel a été abordé l'établissement des nouveaux manuscrits. Le roi est persuadé que les défauts qui apparaissent à l'application des textes actuellement en usage, comme, par exemple, à l'occasion de la sentence rendue par les Luk Khŭn dans l'affaire de la dame Pòm, sont dus à des manipulations frauduleuses, et la concordance de trois manuscrits ne l'incline nullement à penser que la disposition incriminée pourrait bien être originale. Il ne veut pas croire que ses prédécesseurs aient pu faire passer dans le corps des lois des règles iniques. L'œuvre de révision de 1805 est donc présentée essentiellement comme le rétablissement des lois anciennes dans leur teneur primitive, et cela alors même que le roi, manquant de tout indice matériel, s'inspire de sa propre notion de l'équité pour "corriger" une solution qui, en raison de ses conséquences injustes, lui paraît altérée. Ce n'est pas seulement une manifestation de l'activité tradition-

1.—Sur le "Concile" de 1788, v. notamment: พระราชพงศาวดาร กรุงรัตนโกสินทร์ รัชกาลที่ ๑ pp. 134-144 et G. Cœdès: *The Vajirañāṇa National Library* p. 21.

2.—กำนันเขมา, 9a et 11ab

3.—กำนันเขมา, 11bc

aliste du roi Phra : Phatta Yot Fa, dont on a tant d'autres marques, mais c'est aussi, croyons-nous, l'expression d'une vieille coutume constitutionnelle, sur laquelle nous ne pouvons insister ici, et qui assurait la transmission de l'œuvre législative d'un règne à l'autre. Quoi qu'il en soit, cette attitude entraine, pour l'étude des manuscrits de 1805, une conséquence grave. Ces manuscrits ont beau se présenter comme une édition fidèle des anciennes lois, et nous pouvons même admettre qu'en effet, le droit ainsi rétabli est bien, dans son ensemble, identique au droit en vigueur avant la chute d'Ayuthia, il n'en reste pas moins certain que, sous le couvert de la révision, des retranchements, des modifications et des additions ont été effectués sans reposer sur aucune critique des manuscrits existants. Et le plus grave, c'est que ces retouches sont désormais impossibles ou du moins extrêmement difficiles à déceler, étant entièrement confondues dans la rédaction nouvelle avec la masse des dispositions réputées authentiques par les réviseurs. Ainsi, il n'est pas aisé de savoir ce qu'est devenu le texte invoqué par les Luk Khŭn à l'appui de leur décision dans l'affaire relatée plus haut(1), et les effets que soit sa suppression, soit les modifications qui y ont été apportées, ont pu entraîner pour d'autres solutions connexes. On se trouve par suite obligé de considérer l'œuvre résultant de la révision de 1805 comme étant stricto sensu l'expression du droit en vigueur à cette époque, et rien d'autre, et cette conclusion pèsera lourdement sur les recherches futures touchant l'ancien droit siamois.

Le soin de la révision fut confié à une commission de onze membres dont le préambule donne la composition(2) : quatre ālaksaṇa

1.—Le prince Rabi, commentant ce passage du préambule, se borne à renvoyer aux articles 10 et 25 des lois sur les époux. La solution *nouvelle* de l'affaire résulte en effet de l'application de ces articles (dont le texte, disons le en passant, est gravement fautif dans les éditions Bradley et Rabi), mais rien ne dit que l'une ou l'autre de ces dispositions ait été substituée à l'ancienne.

2.—Le [illegible] paraît reproduire, plus ou moins textuellement, l'acte par lequel le roi, après avoir exposé les raisons qui nécessitent une révision des collections législatives, procède, en audience publique, à l'institution de la commission chargée de cette révision et en précise les attributions. La date qui figure au début du préambule se rapporte donc à l'institution de la commission.

ou scribes royaux : จุนสุนทรโวหาร, chef du service, จุนสรสะปะเหลิฐ, จุน วิเชียรนอักษร et จุนนิจิตรมัไมย ; trois Luk Khun, c'est-à-dire trois membres de la haute juridiction devant laquelle était venue l'action en divorce de la dame Pŏm : จุนหลวงพระไกรสี, พระราชสิทธิโวหารปะหลัด et หลวงมัไชยา ; et quatre pandits royaux : พระมหาวิหารมม, จุนศิริโวหาร, นายคิม et นายต่อน "barien" (docteur en théologie).

Le programme fixé par le roi à la commission est formulé dans le préambule de la manière suivante : 13 (a) จึงพระราชดำหนฎูบท พระไอยการขันนิยูในหวงหาม ต้นต่พระองคลาย (b) ไปให้ถูกต้องตาม บาพิแล เนื้อความมิให้วิลิศเคื่องขัดกันได้ จัดเปนหมวด (c) เปนหล่นชำไว้ แจ้งพระราชดัดแปลงซึ่งพระธันมัไปลดนั้น (d) ให้ชอบโดยบุลิยมไว้

La commission devait donc prendre pour base, non le manuscrit dont se servaient les Luk Khun, mais un de ceux qu'avait produits le Chão Phya Phra : Khlăng lors de l'affaire de la dame Pŏm, à savoir le manuscrit conservé à la Bibliothèque royale. On ne nous dit pas si la commission avait aussi à sa disposition les deux autres collections officielles dont l'existence est attestée par le préambule. La révision devait porter sur tous les textes que comportait la collection conservée à la Bibliothèque royale, puisque le roi impose à la commission de commencer au Phra : Dharmasāstra qui, vraisemblablement, figurait en tête de la collection des lois. Nous savons, d'ailleurs, par un texte contemporain (1), que ces diverses collections manuscrites ne représentaient qu'une faible partie, un neuvième ou un dixième seulement, des manuscrits existant dans les archives de l'ancienne capitale ; par suite, un grand nombre des textes législatifs en vigueur avant la chute d'Ayuthia ne figurent pas dans la collection nouvelle et sont considérés comme définitivement abrogés, alors même que le contenu en aurait pu être reconstitué. Ce fait ajoute du poids aux

1.— พระราชกำหนดใหม่, n° 28, de C. S. 1156 (1794 A. D.), Bradley, 10ème édit., II, p. 462.

considérations développées plus haut en ce qui concerne la valeur historique de l'œuvre de 1805.

La tâche assignée à la commission, d'après le passage du préambule cité plus haut, était de mettre le texte du manuscrit "en conformité complète avec le texte sacré et la matière traitée, pour en supprimer les erreurs et les contradictions (1)" et d'en grouper les éléments suivant leur connexité. On remarquera qu'il n'est pas question d'une confrontation de manuscrits, comme pour le rétablissement du texte du Tipiṭaka. Ce qu'on demande à la commission, ce n'est pas de faire la critique du texte, à supposer même qu'elle dispose des matériaux nécessaires pour un tel travail, c'est d'effacer les contradictions *à l'intérieur de l'exemplaire qui lui est soumis* contradictions qui rendent si difficile l'interprétation judiciaire de ces textes. Elles apparaissent au seul rapprochement des solutions légales, et constituent des fautes *évidentes*, que la commission a peut-être qualité de corriger elle-même, qu'elle a, en tout cas, le devoir de mettre en lumière pour attirer l'attention du roi.

Dans ce but, la commission devait remanier l'agencement de la collection soumise à son examen, en classer la matière dans un ordre qui en fît voir immédiatement les imperfections. Cet ordre est celui qui découle du "texte sacré" (ධර්ම) et de la "matière traitée" (ධර්මානුධර්ම). Ces expressions paraissent bien se référer aux divisions posées dans le Dharmasātra et à la célèbre distinction des "mūlagati" et des "sākhagati" dont s'inspirent les divers "lakṣaṇa" ou titres. Est-ce à dire que c'était une nouveauté de ranger dans les cadres du Dharmasātra la matière législative, et que les divisions que nous connaissons et leur contenu datent de 1805? La rapidité avec laquelle la commission a mené ses travaux, fait douter qu'elle ait eu à opérer un reclassement aussi considérable, et fait penser qu'elle s'est bornée à reprendre un classement déjà existant. On sait, dès à présent, qu'en certains cas, la numérotation a été remaniée, sinon introduite de toutes pièces, que, par suite, certains découpages sont nouveaux. Il est non moins sûr que des textes qui

1.—Rapprocher des passages du ධර්මානුධර්ම, 9a et 11ab.

n'y figuraient pas avant ont été interpolés dans la masse des textes anciens (1). Mais seule une étude attentive des manuscrits eux-mêmes permettra de se rendre compte de l'importance des retouches que les manuscrits ont subies.

On voit que les pouvoirs attribués à la commission n'étaient pas très étendus et qu'ils ne lui permettaient d'opérer que des modifications de forme, auxquelles pouvaient être assimilées des corrections de détail, voire des retranchements, qui n'apparaissaient pas comme portant atteinte à la substance du texte, en ce sens que leur effet était seulement de mettre en harmonie les dispositions qu'elles frappaient avec les parties conservées de l'ancienne législation. Les véritables modifications de fond étaient réservées au roi. La commission, une fois son travail terminé, devait, en effet, soumettre le nouveau texte au roi, pour qu'il le "révise" à son tour et en modifie les dispositions "incorrectes" conformément à l'équité. Il s'agit évidemment ici d'autre chose que d'une approbation de l'œuvre de la commission, mais d'une intervention proprement législative, substituant une solution nouvelle à celle qui découlait clairement du texte transmis. Nous avons dit plus haut dans quel esprit ces modifications de fond ont été introduites. Représentant la tradition d'équité léguée par ses prédécesseurs d'Ayuthia, l'œuvre du nouveau roi pourra lui survivre intégralement et servir à ses successeurs(2).

Enfin, le préambule prescrit aux scribes royaux de faire trois copies du manuscrit révisé par la commission et le roi, pour être conservées, l'une dans la Salle des Bijoux, une autre à la Bibliothèque royale, une autre enfin à la Cour royale de Justice, à la disposition des Luk Khûn. Ces trois copies du manuscrit original doivent être revêtues des trois sceaux ตราราชสีห์ (rājasīha), ตราคชสีห์ (gajasīha) et

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1.—V. par exemple, le texte daté de C. S. 1166 intercalé dans les lois sur les époux (Bradley 10ème édit., I, p. 247).

2.—บาน แพนก, 14 a.

ตำรา, surtout pour en marquer l'authenticité (1). Et il est défendu aux Luk Khûn d'ajouter foi à toute disposition légale, invoquée à l'appui d'une décision de justice, qui ne figurerait pas dans le manuscrit officiel(2).

Cette dernière phrase est fort importante, car elle équivaut à l'abrogation formelle de toute coutume ou règle de droit qui n'aurait pas trouvé son expression dans la collection nouvelle. Ce trait,—et il n'est pas le seul,—suffirait à distinguer l'œuvre de 1805 d'une simple compilation. Désormais, tout manuscrit de loi, même remontant à la période d'Ayuthia et d'une authenticité certaine, n'a aucune valeur en justice s'il n'est pas prouvé qu'il reproduit fidèlement la version nouvelle. On s'explique dès lors le peu de soin que les propriétaires d'anciens manuscrits ont apporté à leur conservation et le nombre extrêmement petit, pour ne pas dire le manque presque total, d'anciens manuscrits législatifs dans le fond de la Bibliothèque Vajirañāṇa, qui possède cependant, en d'autres domaines, des collections relativement riches de manuscrits antérieurs à la chute de l'ancienne capitale.

Sur la méthode adoptée par la commission pour la réalisation du programme qui lui était fixé, non plus que sur la division du travail entre ses membres, nous n'avons trouvé, jusqu'à présent, aucun texte comparable à ceux où revit le "Concile" de 1788, dont notre

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1.—D'après le พระราชบัญญัติ, le premier de ces sceaux était confié au chef du กระทรวงมหาดไทย, "Ministre de l'Intérieur", le second, au chef du กระทรวงกลาโหม, "Ministre de la Guerre" et le dernier au chef du กรมท่า, "Ministre du Trésor". Tous trois étaient réservés à la transmission des décisions du roi. D'autre part, le territoire du royaume était divisé en trois ressorts où chacun de ces trois hauts fonctionnaires exerçait respectivement ses attributions. La réunion des trois sceaux confère donc à l'acte qui en est revêtu la plénitude d'autorité, tant au point de vue territorial qu'au regard des diverses compétences administratives. Sur ces points, cons. พระราชพิธี (ouvrage du roi Chulalongkorn) p. 3 et ลักษณการปกครองหัวเมืองฝ่ายเหนือ (de S. A. R. le prince Damrong Raxanuphab), pp. 45-47.

2.—บทพระอัยการ, 15ab.

commission continuait l'œuvre en matière laïque. Nous ignorons ce que sont devenus le ou les manuscrits qui lui ont servi de base. Tout ce que nous pouvons savoir, c'est que, si l'on adopte la date du préambule donnée plus haut comme point de départ des travaux de la commission, l'œuvre de révision a été complètement terminée en moins de onze mois. Il résulte, en effet, de l'examen des dates portées sur les premières pages de chaque volume que le dernier volume copié a été la dernière partie des พระราชกำหนดใหม่ et que le travail des scribes a pris fin le 16 décembre 1805. Si on ajoute que la première copie, celle du manuscrit de ลักษณะมรดก, est datée du 3 septembre 1805, on pourra être tenté de faire remonter jusqu'à cette dernière date la conclusion de la révision proprement dite. Cette manière de voir pourrait bien trouver quelque appui dans la mise en œuvre du programme tracé à la commission et dans les termes mêmes du préambule(1). Toutefois, en l'absence de toute information sur la méthode de travail effectivement suivie, il paraît préférable d'attribuer à l'établissement définitif de chaque volume la date qu'il porte, de telle sorte que la période d'achèvement s'étend entre les deux dates extrêmes relevées ci-dessus(2).

1.—ประกาศ, 14ab.

2.—Il convient de signaler, toutefois, que nous ne possédons qu'une partie des trois collections manuscrites établies par la commission et que l'ensemble des manuscrits dont nous disposons forme une collection incomplète des lois qui ont fait l'objet de la révision. Il ne faut donc pas s'attacher rigoureusement à la conclusion énoncée.

Notes : January-June, 1929.

The period January to June 1929 has been one of considerable importance and activity, both in the history of the Society and within the Council. Evidence of the increasing interest in the aims and objects of the Society has been forthcoming in the substantial addition to the active membership during the first half of the year. The resignations during the same period have been principally due to members leaving Siam for good.

The deaths of two old members have to be recorded with regret. One, Mr. G. C. B. Stirling, had been a corresponding member since the inception of the Society, and the other, Mr. A. J. Irwin, who was a member of Council and an office-bearer while in Siam, had been an honorary member since his retirement.

Professor G. Cœdès, the President, proceeded on leave early in the year, and since his departure the meetings of the Council have been presided over by the senior Vice President (Phya Indra Montri), who himself proceeded on leave at the end of June.

The duties of Editor of the Journal have been undertaken by Monsieur J. Burnay during Professor Coedès' absence. Major Ladell was asked by the Council and agreed to assist the Hon. Librarian, who has found that the growing library requires more and more supervision.

The annual meeting was held at the end of February, and the annual report and balance sheet will be found elsewhere in this number. There was a good attendance. The balance sheet and report were adopted, and the Council unanimously re-elected. A vote of thanks was tendered to Mr. G. R. Brooks for kindly auditing the accounts, which show a satisfactory balance.

In addition to the annual meeting, other opportunities for members to meet have been forthcoming.

In March under the auspices of the Natural History Section of the Society, Dr. Credner, Dozent for Geography at the University of Kiel, read a paper entitled "The Scenery of Siam in its relation to Geology." The lecture was illustrated by a unique series of photographs taken by the author, and a large attendance spent a pleasant and instructive evening. Dr. A. F. G. Kerr, the Leader of

the Section, presided, and mentioned that the paper was the first geological paper to be read under the auspices of the Siam Society. Professor Credner had travelled all over Siam, and, what was more important, he had seen the country with a comprehending eye.

On the occasion of the visit of the Danish exploring vessel *Dana* to Siamese waters in April, Dr. Johannes Schmidt, the leader of the expedition, kindly consented to lecture on the Migration of the Eel. This lecture was also arranged by the Natural History Section and attracted a full attendance. Dr. Schmidt's services in the realm of zoology were appropriately emphasised by Dr. Hugh McCormick Smith, and the lecturer told the fascinating story of the researches which had led to a clear understanding of the eel's career from the egg to the adult. The lecture was admirably illustrated, and a film depicting life and work on board the research vessel was shown.

Following the total eclipse of the sun in Pattani on May 9th, the members of the British Eclipse Expedition visited Bangkok, and the Leader, Professor Col. J. F. M. Stratton, lectured on the Sun to a general meeting of the Society, which was largely attended. The occasion was honoured by the presence of Their Majesties the King and Queen, and many members of the Royal Family. Phya Indra Montri presided, and, in welcoming Col. Stratton, said the Society was also glad to know that Colonel Waley Cohen, the Secretary General of the British Expedition, and Professor Hans Rosenberg, Leader of the German Eclipse Expedition, were able to be present. His Majesty, prior to leaving, conversed with Prof. Stratton and expressed his interest in the subject of the lecture.

In May the President (Prof. G. Coedès) represented the Society at the Centenary of the Ecole Centrale des Arts et Manufactures held in Paris, and in this month also Sir Josiah Crosby was the delegate of the Society to the Fourth Pacific Congress held in Batavia. One of the life members of the Society in the person of Dr. Eldon James was asked to represent the Society at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the American Academy of Arts and Letters in New York in April, but, owing to the

time elapsing between the receipt of the invitation and the Council's nomination of its representative, it was not possible for Dr. James to be present at the celebrations, to the Council's and Dr. James' expressed regret.

The Building Fund continues to grow, and if it does not increase at the rate that its most ardent supporters wish, it can at least be said that the amount already raised and promised ensures at no very distant date that the Society may, with confidence, take in hand the construction of their greatly needed permanent home. At the end of the half year the amount at the credit of the Building Fund stood at Tcs. 21,300. Of this sum Tcs. 10,000 has been placed on fixed deposit with the Banque de l'Indo-Chine for twelve months at the generous rate of five per cent. Particularly encouraging to the Council have been the gifts of members now no longer resident in Siam, and the appreciation of the work that the Society is doing which accompanied several of these gifts.

A newly created Trust Fund "for investment in the interest of the Society" has been established since the beginning of the year, and was formed by placing an initial sum of Tcs. 2,000 on fixed deposit with the same Bank, also at five per cent. per annum. It is hoped in succeeding years to be able to budget for a surplus to swell this fund.

The Council has decided that, whenever funds are available, the reprinting of journals, which are either out of stock or of which only very few parts remain available, shall be undertaken, and a commencement has been made with Vol. I, parts I and II. The possession of stocks of this volume, which has for years being difficult to obtain, will doubtless be taken advantage of by present day members wishing to advance the completion of their sets of the Journal.

The Council has considered ways and means of celebrating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the foundation of the Society, and has decided to observe it in November next by the publication of a commemorative volume, and by a banquet. Further details will be announced later.

Six meetings of the Council have been held, at which the average attendance has been nine.

Annual Report for 1928.

The year has been an eventful one, and the revival of interest in the affairs of the Society, referred to in previous annual reports, has been more than sustained. His Majesty the King, the Patron, with Her Majesty the Queen, again honoured the Society by being present at the general meeting in October, when Dr. Hans Koester lectured on the religion of Shaktism.

The most important event for the future of the Society has been the proposal of the Council, approved by the members at a special general meeting, to raise funds for the erection of a building for the Society. The scheme has been successfully launched owing to the generous financial support and the interest taken by His Majesty the King, and Their Royal Highnesses, The Prince of Nagara Svarga, Prince Damrong and the Prince of Kambaeng Bejra. The unexpected offer by the Government of a site at a nominal rental, to which further reference will be found later, has added to the confidence with which it is hoped that the Society will own a suitable home at no very distant date.

Membership.

Dr. Malcolm Smith was elected an Honorary Member in recognition of his services to natural history in Siam.

During the year the number of ordinary members elected was 31, as compared with 23 in 1927, 30 in 1926, and 47 in 1925 (the year when 24 members of the former Natural History Society were elected to the Siam Society as the result of the amalgamation). There were 30 resignations and 5 removals from membership, and the death of Monsieur Réau the French Minister, has to be recorded with regret. The number of ordinary members was thus reduced by 5. The deaths of two Honorary Members, Mr. A. J. Irwin and Major Moulton, and of one Corresponding Member, Mr. B. O. Cartwright, have also to be recorded with regret. Mr. Irwin and Mr. Cartwright were both active members of the Society for many years before their retirement from Siam.

The membership on January 1st. 1929 was :—

Honorary	Corresponding	Life	Ordinary	Free
21	11	2	209	3

making a total of 246, as compared with 233 in 1927, 253 in 1926, 260 in 1925, and 238 in 1924.

The Council.

Mr. L. Brewitt-Taylor, whose work has been of great value, retired owing to pressure of other duties, and the same cause was responsible for the resignation of Mr. V. H. Jaques from the position of Honorary Treasurer. Mr. J. Burnay resumed his position as Honorary Librarian on his return from leave. H. R. H. the Prince of Kambaeng Bejra joined the Council by virtue of his position as Leader of the Travel and Transport Section. The following were co-opted members of the Council: Mr. C. J. House (as Honorary Treasurer), Mr. E. Wyon Smith and Mr. E. J. Godfrey. Major Ladell and the Honorary Secretary were absent on leave during a portion of the year.

Sixteen Council meetings were held, compared with thirteen in 1927.

It was felt that the finances of the Society had not been receiving sufficient attention, and a committee consisting of Phya Indra Montri, Mr. R. S. le May, with the Honorary Secretary and Honorary Treasurer, was appointed to take the matter in hand. It reported that the Society was not living strictly within its income and that expenditure should be cut down. A budget for 1929 was submitted, and it was suggested that the Finance Committee should become a permanent body, scrutinising all proposed expenditure, before it was submitted to the Council. These recommendations were agreed to, and it was decided that a budget be prepared annually.

Dictionary.

The compilation of the Siamese-English-French dictionary, which was commenced in 1927, was continued. Valuable notes on Siamese words compiled by Mr. E. J. Walton were made available to the committee.

Natural History Museum.

In the Report for 1927 it was mentioned that a committee was appointed to report on the establishment of a Natural History Museum. After consideration of the report, the Council resolved that the Minister of Commerce and Communications should be approached on the subject, with the suggestion that the proposed museum be incorporated with the Government Economic Museum. Dr. Hugh McCormick Smith and Mr. A. Marcan joined the committee, which prepared a fresh report from this view-point. The memorandum, having been approved, was submitted as planned.

Exchanges.

The committee appointed in 1927 to examine the question of exchange of publications with other societies presented their report which was passed by the Council.

The 25th. Anniversary of the formation of the Society.

The Society has so far had only temporary accommodation, and has frequently been faced with the problem of finding new quarters, which at times has occasioned grave concern. During the year Poh Yome House was sold, but other temporary rooms were obtained at the Chulalongkorn University, being kindly offered by H. H. Prince Dhani, Minister of Public Instruction. It was felt that the Society needed a suitable building of its own, if it were to take its proper place in the intellectual life of the country. After deliberation, the Council decided that the anniversary could be most fittingly celebrated by the erection of a home.

The project, involving an expenditure of Baht 35,000 exclusive of site, was passed by a special general meeting of members on October 17th. An appeal was subsequently circulated, in which the gratifying announcement was made that a suitable plot of land between the Saowabha Institute and the Chulalongkorn University, at the present time part of the site which the University leases from His Majesty, had been kindly offered by H. H. the Minister of Public Instruction for the Society's use on a long lease at a nominal rental,

if sufficient funds were forthcoming to proceed with the building. At the end of the year about Baht 16,000 had already been subscribed or promised, so that the scheme appears to be assured of success.

Congresses.

The President represented the Society at the celebration of the 150th anniversary of the foundation of the Royal Batavia Society of Arts and Letters, and received the honour of being elected an Honorary Member of the Society.

Mr. W. A. Graham, a past President, represented the Society at the International Geographical Congress at Cambridge in June, and read a paper entitled "The Races of Further India."

General Meeting.

Dr. Hans Koester read a paper on the Religion of Shaktism in October, when Their Majesties the King and Queen honoured the meeting by their presence.

Travel and Transport Section.

A meeting was held in March under the leadership of the Prince of Kambaeng Bejra, when a paper on the "Hill routes between Pitsanuloke and Lomsak" was read, prepared from the diary kept by Mr. L. J. Robbins, formerly of the Vajiravudh College. The paper was illustrated by photographs and a short cinematograph film.

Section of Fine and Applied Arts.

A session was held in May, when Mr. le May lectured on Chinese porcelain. A number of specimens were exhibited to illustrate the paper.

Natural History Section.

At a meeting in August, Dr. Hugh McCormick Smith exhibited specimens of fish and flying squirrels, Dr. A. F. G. Kerr shewed a number of plants, and Mr. A. Marcan read a paper on the Mangroves of Siam.

The Journal.

Two parts of the Journal were issued, Vol. XXI, part 3, and Vol. XXII, part I. Vol. XXII, part II, was in the press at the close of the year.

Vol. XXI, part 3, contained the fully illustrated and important paper on the excavations at P'ong Tük and their importance for the ancient history of Siam, by Professor G. Cœdès, and a contribution to the Problem of the Siamese alphabet by Professor Dr. F. Otto Schrader. Vol. XXII, part I, brought to a close the extracts appearing in previous numbers of the English correspondence of King Mongkut, and the interesting story of Wat Benchamabopitr as related by H. R. H. Prince Damrong. This part was accompanied by a series of plates of the Images of the Buddha to be found within the cloisters of the temple, and a full list of the images was also printed with the paper.

One Natural History Supplement was published, Vol. VII, part 3. Included in it was an account of the physical features and vegetation of Kao Tao, the most isolated island in the Gulf of Siam, by Dr. A. F. G. Kerr and a paper on Birds from the Rahaeng district by Mr. F. N. Chasen and Mr. C. Boden Kloss.

Professor Cœdès edited the Journal throughout the year, and Mr. E. J. Godfrey continued to act as Assistant Editor, in charge of the Natural History Supplement.

Florae Siamensis Enumeratio.

It was found possible to carry out the publication of Part III of the above work, and it is hoped to proceed with the succeeding parts as soon as possible.

Reception.

On the occasion of Professor Finot's visit to Siam in July, the President and Council gave an At Home in his honour, to which the members of the Society were invited. Accommodation at the

Chulalongkorn University was kindly made available, and a warm welcome was extended to Professor Finot, who has been a Corresponding Member of the Society since its inception, and was elected an Honorary Member in 1923.

Excursions.

To the regret of the Council it was not found feasible to arrange any excursions as in some preceding years. It is hoped, however, that it will be possible to arrange one, if not two, during 1929.

Gifts.

The following gifts have been received during the year for the Society's library: From H. R. H. the Princess of U'thong, a copy of *Bhuddhamamaka*; from F. M. Chao Phya Surisakdi Montri, a copy of *Nirat Muang Luang Prabang*; from Dr. Hans Koester, a copy of his work *Anthroposophy in India*; from Major Erik Seidenfaden a copy of his paper, *Some Notes on the Siamese Army*; and from Mr. O'Neill a copy of his translation, *The Natural and Political History of the Kingdom of Siam 1688, by Gervaise.*

Statement of Receipts and Expenditure of The Siam Society for the Year 1928.

Receipts.			Tcs. Sgs.
To Balance brought forward from 1927			1,754.37
,, Subscriptions received for 1926	Tcs.	25.00	
do. do. 1927	,,	250.00	
do. do. 1928	,,	5,000.00	
do. do. 1929	,,	125.00	5,400.00
To One life-membership subscription			300.00
,, Surplus on foreign exchange			11.51
,, Tea to M. Finot (contributed by Council)			161.00
,, Otto Harrassowitz—a/c sales 1927			74.10
,, Sales of Journals			1,050.00
,, Sales of Natural History Journals			255.50
,, Sales of Mon Dictionary			21.40
,, Sales of Craib's Flora of Siam			991.15
,, Sales of Stamp catalogue			17.20
,, Interest on current a/c			33.47
	Tcs.		10,075.79

Expenditure.			Tcs. Sgs.
By Furniture and Fittings			208.60
,, Electric Current			79.45
,, Clerk's wages			180.00
,, Coolie's wages			264.00
,, Postages—Hon. Treasurer			47.35
,, Postages—Hon. Secretary			159.02
,, Rent for rooms			520.00
,, Refreshments at lectures in 1927			187.00
,, Refreshments at lectures in 1928			62.25
,, Books bound for library			96.25
,, Filing cards for Dictionary			80.00
,, Lantern slides and photographs for lecture			125.50
,, Blocks and plates for Journal			681.15
,, Printing Craib's Flora Part 3			1,230.00
,, Printing Journals			2,585.00
,, Printing Authors separates			135.00
,, Stationery, including postcards			162.50
,, Addressing wrapping, forwarding etc. of Society's publications, circulars etc.			53.50
,, Printing postcards and notices			47.50
,, Postages on forwarding Journals			335.77
,, Fire Insurance Premium			71.25
,, Books purchased and accessories for lantern			19.96
,, Cost of removal from Poh Yome House			65.00
,, Sundries and lorry hire			15.26
,, Tea to M. Finot—August 31st 1928			155.25
,, Expenses of representative at Geographical Congress, Cambridge			64.00
Total Expenditure			7,630.56
Balance carried forward to 1929			2,445.23
		Tcs.	10,075.79

Examined and found to agree with the books and vouchers.

G. B. BROOKS. Bangkok, February 1929.

C. J. HOUSE, *Hon. Treasurer.*

No. of Members as at 31st December 1928.—Honorary 21 Corresponding 11, Life 2, Ordinary 209, Free 3, Total 246.

Subscriptions outstanding.—1927 Tcs. 50, 1928 Tcs. 225, Total Tcs. 275.

Full List of Members of the Siam Society on July 1st. 1929.

Patron ...	... His Majesty the King.
Vice-Patron ...	... H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab.
Honorary President	... H. R. H. Prince of Nagara Svarga.
Honorary Vice-President	... H. R. H. Prince of Kambaeng Bejra.

Honorary Members.

H. R. H. The Prince of Jainad
H. H. Prince Bidyalankarana

W. J. Archer, C. M. G.	... South Africa.
E. C. Stuart Baker	... 6 Harold Road ,Norwood, London.
Dr. C. B. Bradley ...	... Berkeley, California, U. S. A.
Miss E. S. Cole ...	... St. Joseph, Mo., U. S. A.
Sir J. Crosby, K.B.E., C.I.E.	... H. B. M. Consul-General, Batavia.
Professor L. Finot ...	... Ecole Francaise d'Extrême-Orient, Hanoi.
Ronald W. Giblin ...	... c/o Guthrie & Co., Ltd., Whittington Av., London, E. C.
Count Gyldenstolpe	... Royal Natural History Museum. Stockholm, Sweden.
J. Homan van der Heide	... Bemmel, Holland.
Dr. H. Campbell Highet	... Radley House, Winchester, England.
C. Boden Kloss ...	... Raffles Museum, Singapore.
Right Rev. Bishop R. M. J. Perros	... Bangkok.
Sir Ernest M. Satow	... Ottery St. Mary, Devon.
Sir J. George Scott	... Thereaway, Graffham, Petworth, Sussex.
Dr. Paul Tuxen	... Royal Danish Library, Copenhagen.

W. A. Graham, ... Plush Manor, Piddletrenthide, near Dorchester.

Dr. Malcolm Smith ... Lane End, Putney, London, S. W. 15

Sir Walter Williamson, C.M.G. c/o Lloyd's Bank, 6 Pall Mall, London, S. W. 1.

Corresponding Members.

Cable, J. A. ... ... Golfers' Club, Whitehall Court. London, S. W. 1.

Craib, Professor W. G. ... University of Aberdeen, Scotland.

Cabaton, Professor A. ... c/o Ecole Nationale des Langues Orientales, Paris.

Michell, J. ... ... 2 Oakhill Road, Beckenham, Kent.

Nunn, W. ... ... Darras Hall, Ponteland, Northumberland.

Pulle, Professor, Conte F. L. ... R. Universita, Bologna, Italy.

Petithuguenin, P. ... ... 74 Rue St. Lazare, Paris, France.

Sewell, C. A. S. ... ... Birchington, Kent.

Smyth, H. Warington, C.M.G. ... Athanæum Club, London.

Taw Sein Ko ... ... c/o Archaeological Department., Mandalay

Life Members.

Hutchinson E. W. ... ... Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation, Chiengmai.

James Dr. E. R. ... ... Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass, U. S. A.

Ordinary Members.*

Aagaard, C. J. ... ... Samsen Water Works.

Alexander, Prof. G. ... Chulalongkorn University.

Allen, C. A. ... ... American Presbyterian Mission.

Allen, Miss M. R. ... ... 117-19 Union Turnpike, Forest Hills, Long Island, N. Y.

* All addresses are in Bangkok, unless otherwise stated.

Andersen, H. C. ...	... Meklong Railway Co. Ltd., Tachin.
Anuvad Vanarak, Phra	... Timber Revenue Station, Paknampoh.
Aran Raksa, Phra ...	... Forest Department.
Asmis, Dr. R. ...	... German Legation.
Bailey, J. ...	... British Legation.
Bain, W. ...	... Borneo Co. Ltd., Chiengmai.
Bangkok Christian College	... Pramuan Road.
Barron, P. A. R. ...	... Borneo Co. Ltd., Paknampoh.
Baudart, C. A. ...	... City Engineer, Ministry of Interior.
Béguelin, C. ...	... Dept. of Public Health.
Bhakdi Noraset, Phya	... Nai Lert Store.
Bharata Raja, Phya	... Chulalongkorn University.
Bibliothèque Royale du Cambodge	... Pnompenh.
Bjørling, O. ...	... East Asiatic Co. Ltd.
Blankwaardt, W. ...	... Société Anonyme Belge.
Bohensky, L. ...	... B. Grimm & Co.
Boran Rajadanindr, H. E. Phya	Wat Siri.
Braham, N. C. ...	... Borneo Co. Ltd., Lampang.
Brandli, H. ...	... Royal Irrigation Department.
Bréal, M. ...	... Est Asiatique Français, Chiengrai.
Brooks, G. R. ...	... Meklong Railway Co. Ltd.
Bruun, J. ...	... Menam Motor Boat Co.
Burnay, J. (Hon.Librarian)	... Suriwongse Road.
Cairncross, J. ...	... Chartered Bank of India, &c.
Cambiaso, S. ...	... Highway Dept., Singora.
Cambridge University Library, ...	... Cambridge.
Campbell, (Mrs.) M. R.	... Rama I Road.
Chalart Lobloesan, H. S. H. Prince ...	... Bang Khun Prom.
Chambrelan, A. G. E. J.	... c/o Messageries Maritimes, Singapore.
Chapple, E. ...	... Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation, Ltd.

Charoon Snidvongs, Luang	... Royal State Railways.
Chauvet, E. ...	... French Legation.
Choola, Luang ...	... Department of Fisheries.
Chorin, (Père) L. A.	... Assumption College.
Christiansen, H. ...	... East Asiatic Co. Ltd.
Coedès, Prof. G. (President)	... Royal Institute.
Colley, N. G. ...	... Siam Architects.
Collins, (Mrs.) E. ...	... Sriracha.
Congdon, Prof. E. D.	... Chulalongkorn University.
Cook, Sir Edward, C. S. I., C. I. E. ...	... Kingsdon, Klong Poh Yome.
Coultas, W. W. ...	... H. B. M. Consulate, Singora.
Cranmer, C. G. ...	... Steel Bros. & Co. Ltd.
Credner, Dr. W. ...	... Geographische Institut de Universitat, Kiel
Colchester, M. T. ...	... Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation, Ltd., Chiengmai
Daruphan Pitak, Phya	... Forest Department.
Daubourg, (Mrs.) J. L.	... Royal Hotel.
Davy, E. R. ...	... Barrow Brown & Co. Ltd.
de Jesus, F. G. ...	... Siam Electric Corporation, Ltd.
Dhani Nivat, H. H. Prince	... Ministry of Public Instruction.
Dharmasakti, Chao Phya Montri,	... Nang Lerng.
Duplatre, L. ...	... Appeal Court, (Ministry of Justice).
Eliot, Sir Charles, G.C.M.G.	... c/o Foreign Office, London.
Ellis, Dr. A. G. ...	... Chulalongkorn University.
Encyclopedic Bureau, Govt. Genl. of Formosa	... Taipeh, Formosa, Japan.
England, I. E. ...	... Anglo-Siam Corporation, Ltd.
Eskelund, N. ...	... British Dispensary Building.
Eygout, Prof. H. ...	... Law School, (Ministry of Justice).
Faculty of Science	... Chulalongkorn University.
Fisher, H. ...	... Anglo-Siam Corporation, Ltd.
Forno, E. ...	... Fine Arts Section, Royal Institute.

F. M. S. Museums ... Kuala Lumpur.
French Legation ... ... Bangkok.

Gadadharabodi, Phya ... Phya Thai Road.
Gairdner, K. G. ... ... Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation, Ltd. Chiengmai
Garden, D. S. ... ... Bangkok Daily Mail.
Garrett, H. B. ... ...
Gee, C. D. ... ... Royal Irrigation Department.
Gentry, A. A. ... ... Barrow Brown & Co., Ltd.
Gilmore, W. M. ... ... Royal Survey Department.
Girivat, Nai Louis ... Bangkok Daily Mail.
Godfrey, E. J. ... ... Suan Kularb School.
Gould, A. N. ... ... Borneo Co. Ltd., Raheng.
Green, Axel ... ... Royal Irrigation Department.
Grenard, J. ... ... c/o Banque de l'Indochine, Saigon.
Groundwater, C. L. ... Royal State Railways.
Groote, E. ... ... Si Phya Road.
Grut, Comdr. W. L. ... Siam Electric Corporation Ltd.
Grut, Edmond ... ... Siam Electric Corporation, Ltd.
Gunji, K. ... ... Japanese Legation.

Haines, W. ... ... Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation, Ltd.
Hale, A. H. ... ... 476 Rama I Road
Hammond, A. R. ... ... Remington Typewriter Store.
t'Hart, W. ... ... Internationale Crediet en Handels Vereeniging, Rotterdam.
Havmoller, R. P. ... ... Muang Tin N. L., Bannasan.
Haworth, R. A. Livesey ...
Healey, E. ... ... Siam Architects.
Hermet, Dr. P. ... ... Légation de France.
Hertz, Dr. R. ... ... German Legation.
Hicks, J. ... ... Borneo Co., Ltd.
Hoare, E. O'B. ... ... Borneo Co., Ltd., Chiengmai.

Hoekman, J. S. ... ... Ministry of Justice.
Hols, H. M. P. ... ... Indische Hout Maatschappij.
House, C. J. (Hon. Treasurer) Ministry of Commerce & Communications.
Huber, H. J. W. ... ... Netherlands Legation.
Hurlimann, Dr. M. ... ... c/o Verlag Wasmuth A. G. Berlin W. 8. Markgrafenstre 31.

Indra Montri, Phya (Vice-President) Rajaprarob Road.
Inglis, C. M. ... ... c/o Whiteaway, Laidlaw & Co., Calcutta.

Jabouille, M. Pierre ... Inspecteur des Affaires Politiques à Hué, Annam.
Japanese Legation ... Rajaprarob Road.
Jaques, V. H. ... ... Tilleke & Gibbins.
Johns, J. F. ... ... H. B. M. Consul-General.
Jolamark Bicharana, Phya ... Royal Irrigation Department.
Jones, R. P. ... ... Department of Agriculture.
Joynson, H. W. ... ... L. T. Leonowens, Ltd., Lampang.

Karpèles, Mlle. S. ... Bibliothèque Royale du Cambodge, Pnompenh.
Kavila, Chao ... ... Royal State Railways.
Kerr, Dr. A. F. G. ... ... Ministry of Commerce & Communications.
Kim Pong Thong Thach ... Jawarad Dispensary.
Koester, Dr. H. ... ... German Legation.
Knudtzon, J. ... ... Siam Electric Corporation, Ltd.
Kuroita, Prof. ... ... Tokio University.

Ladell, W. R. S. ... ... Ministry of Lands & Agriculture.
Lambert, E. T. ... ... British Legation.
Lambert, S. G. ... ... Barrow Brown & Co., Ltd.
Lapomarède, Lt. Col. de ... French Military Attaché.

le May, R. S. (Vice-President) ... Ministry of Commerce & Communications
L'Evesque, C. ... ... Ministry of Justice.
Lingat, R. ... ... Ministry of Justice.

Mace, D. F. ... ... Customs Department.
Mackenzie, H. O. ... ... American Legation.
McFarland, Dr. G. B. ... Holyrood, Sathorn Road.
McIntosh, Dr. W. A. ...
Malcolm, A. R. ... ... Borneo Co. Ltd.
Mallin, J. ... ... H. M. Customs.
Manfredi, E. ... ... Royal Institute.
Manopakorn, Phya ... Ministry of Justice.
Marean, A. ... ... Ministry of Commerce & Communications.
Martin, H. E. M. ... ... Anglo-Siam Corpn., Ltd., Lampang.
Mathew, J. ... ... Ministry of Justice, Puket.
May, P. W. ... ... Spicers (Export) Ltd., 51 Robinson Road, Singapore.
Miles, T. H. ... ... Ronpibun.
Mitrakarn Raksha, Phra ... Ministry of Foreign Affairs.
Moller, Prof. Max ... ... Chulalongkorn University.
Mouinot, C. ... ... International Savings Society.
Mouod, E. C. ... ... Bush Lane.
Monro, C. H. ... ... Borneo Co., Ltd., Chiengmai.
Moore, R. Adey (Hon. Secretary) ... The Bangkok Times Press, Ltd.
Morrison, Dr. T. F. ... Milton Academy, Milton, Mass., U.S.A.
Mottershead, W. ... ... Louis T. Leonowens, Ltd.
Mundie, W. H. ... ... The Bangkok Times Press, Ltd.

Nedergaard, Dr. N. ... American Presbyterian Mission.
Neilson Hays Library ... Suriwongse Road.
Nicolas, Prof. R. ... ... Chulalongkorn University.
Niel, C. ... ... Suriwongse Road.
Nielsen, T. H. ... ... Siam Cement Company, Ltd.

Oakley, Dr. T. C. ...	... Off Convent Road.
Oldham, A. T. ...	... British Legation.
O'Neill, H. S. ...	... Vajiravudh College.
Pistono, F. ...	... City Engineer's Office.
Planterose, Remy de	... Ministry of Justice.
Poix, Dr. A. ...	... Wireless Road.
Polain, Marcel ...	... Belgian Legation.
Prabha Karavongs, Phya	... Ban Somdech, Dhonburi.
Pracha Korakit Vicharn, Phya	Ploen Chitr Road.
Praeger, Otto ...	... Post & Telegraph Dept.
Pradère-Niquet, R.	... Phya Thai Palace.
Pramonda, Phra ...	... Ministry of Commerce and Communications.
Prasada, Phra ...	... Ministry of Commerce and Communications.
Prijanusasana, Phya	... Vajiravudh College.
Prisdang, H. H. Prince	... Si Phya Road.
Queripel, A. L. ...	... Chiengmai.
Raggi, J. G. ...	... Sathorn Road.
Rajadharm, Phra ...	... Ministry of Public Instruction.
Relster, Capt. V. L.	... Siam Steam Navigation Co., Ltd.
Reuterberg, E. ...	... Siam Electric Corpn., Ltd.
Ronlez, E. ...	... Siam Electric Corpn., Ltd.
Rooth, A. V. ...	... Bombay-Burmah Trading Corporation, Ltd.
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Winit Wanedorn, Phra	... c/o Forest Department, Lampang.
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Free Members.

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Irwin, (Rev.) R. ...	... American Bible Society.

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(Between January and July 1929).

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วิธีตราดก ว่า ด้วย ราชธรรม ๓๘ คาถา.

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อธิบายแผนที่ พระมหาสมุทรอยุธยา กับ คำวินิจฉัย ของ พระยาไบราณราชธานินทร์.

สงครามจีน ราชสมบัติ ไปลังกา พระบาทสมเด็จพระรามาธิบดีศรีสินทรมหาวชิราวุธ พระมงกุฎเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว ทรง พระราชนิพนธ์.

ตำนานวังหน้า พระเจ้าบรมวงศเธอกรมพระคำรงราชานุภาพ ทรง พระนิพนธ์.

อธิบายระยะทางล่องลำน้ำพิง ตั้งแต่เมืองเชียงใหม่จนถึงปากน้ำโพ พระเจ้าบรมวงศเธอกรมพระคำรงราชานุภาพ ทรงนิพนธ์ เมื่อปี ระกา พ. ศ. ๒๔๖๔.

พระบรมราชาธิบายในการ ประพันธ์ พระบาทสมเด็จพระรามาธิบดีศรีสินทรมหาวชิราวุธ พระมงกุฎเกล้าเจ้าอยู่หัว ทรง พระราชนิพนธ์.

ปัญหาธรรมวินิจฉัย.

ชีวิวัฒน์ สมเด็จพระราชบิดาฯ บรมพงศาธิบุร พระนิพนธ์ นับแต่เป็นเรื่องเที่ยวที่ ต่าง ๆ ภาค ที่ ๗.

เรื่องเที่ยวไทรโยค ความสมเด็จพระราชบิดาฯ บรมพงศาธิบุร เสด็จประพาส เมื่อ พ. ศ. ๒๔๖๔.

จดหมายเหตุ เสด็จเลียบมณฑลฝ่ายเหนือแลนครเชียงใหม่ พ. ศ. ๒๔๖๙.

เรื่องช้างของประเทศสยาม หม่อมราชวงศ์สุขพันธุ์ลนิทรงศ ณอยุธยา แต่งในภาษาอังกฤษ.

NOTE.—The Hon. Secretary will be grateful if members, whose addresses are not given or are given incorrectly, will kindly supply their correct address.

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Sir Ernest Satow.

At the 174th Meeting of the Council of the Siam Society, held at the Chulalongkorn University on Wednesday, September 4th 1929, prior to the reading of the Minutes, the Acting President said: "Before commencing to treat the various items contained in to-day's Agenda, it is my sad duty to announce the death of another Honorary Member of the Siam Society in the person of the distingnished diplomat and scholar, Sir Ernest Satow. Sir Ernest arrived in this country as far back as 1884 and left in 1888; during his short sojourn he occupied such high positions as that of Agent and Consul-General and, subsequently, that of Minister Resident. After his departure from Siam, Sir Ernest occupied other high diplomatic positions among them that of Minister at Tokyo and at Peking, to name the most important ones. From his long sojourn in Japan will be known a whole series of scholarly works on the history and language of that country which have made his name famous among all students of the Far East. His somewhat short connection with this country bore, however, also no mean fruit in his 'Essay towards a bibliography of Siam'—an up-to-date edition of which useful work is so sorely needed to-day—as well as his 'Notes on the Intercourse between Japan and Siam in the seventeenth century,' the latter a most interesting and instructive work of high historical value. It must also be remembered that Sir Ernest made a large collection of Sawankaloke ware which was found in situ by himself. It was therefore quite natural that, at the very inception of our Society, in 1904, Sir Ernest Satow should be elected one of its Honorary Members. Though not personally known to any of us present here to-night and perhaps barely remembered even by those of the older generation who were his contemporaries here more than forty years ago—Sir Ernest Satow's name as a scholar is such a high one that it will live for ever among those who are studying the civilizations of the East, to

the research work of which he contributed so nobly. Honour be to his memory ;"

At the 175th meeting of the Council held on Wednesday, Oct. 9th, at the same time and place, it was decided on the motion of Dr. McCormick Smith, seconded by Mr. le May, to publish the Acting President's eulogium of Sir Ernest Satow in the forthcoming issue of the Journal, and Mr. le May undertook also to forward a copy to the Foreign Office with a request that they would forward it to the relatives of Sir Ernest Satow.

Adversaria of Elephant Hunting, (together with an account of all the rites, observances and acts of worship to be performed in connection therewith, as well as notes on vocabularies of spirit language, fake or taboo language and elephant command words).

BY

PHYA INDRA MONTRI SRICHANDRAKUMARA

(FRANCIS H. GILES).

VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SIAM SOCIETY.

Secret rites & observances divulged to write:.

All professions have their secrets the key to which is held by the master craftsman, and the profession of elephant-hunting is no exception to the rule. The casual observer looking on at the silent and methodical actions of the men engaged in the operation of hunting would be quite unaware of the extraordinary rites and ceremonies which have to be observed and of the complexity of their nature. Elephant men do not talk of these matters, they are too closely interwoven with their lives. They have a sacred meaning and character for them. One of the master craftsmen opened the door to the secrets with his key and the full character and nature of the ceremonies to be observed was revealed to the writer, who has ventured to record them in this paper. He felt that an account of what takes place might be interesting not only to those who probe into the tangled mass of ancient beliefs in an endeavour to ascertain how man has thought and acted, but also to members of the Siam Society. The introduction of railways and roads, hidden by the dust of motor traffic, into the provinces of the Korat plateau and the seaboard provinces will in the course of a few years cause men to change their methods of earning a livelihood and the profession of elephant hunting will become a thing of the past. The new generation will know nothing of how their forefathers voluntarily faced the dangers of the hunt and by what means and by what

powers they attempted to protect themselves from these dangers arising from causes seen and unseen.

This paper forms parts V and VI of a paper I have written attempting to give reasons for the great esteem and respect certain classes of elephants are held in by the peoples of Asia, and wherefore the fortunes and prosperity of a country and its royal house are bound up with the possession of elephants of noble and distinguished lineage. The original paper deals with the position of the elephant in mythology, in the Jataka or Buddha birth stories, in history, and gives a description of a noble or distinguished elephant known to Europeans as the White elephant, but as the paper runs to great length I have decided to ask the Siam Society to accept and print this portion first.

Habitat of elephant. Elephants live in a wild state in most parts of Siam and Burma, but with the extension of cultivation and the cutting down of forest timber, are much troubled by the consequent restricting of the forest lands in which they make their homes. The actual number of wild elephants in this country to-day, probably, does not exceed 3,000, broken up in small herds of from 20 to 200. In central Siam, especially in the circles of Prachin and Ayudhya, where not many years back one would frequently meet herds of semi-wild elephants browsing on the trees and bushes and eating the paddy-crop, hardly an animal is to be met with to-day. These semi-wild animals were those which came under the control of the Royal Elephant Department (กรมช้าง) and were driven to the great elephant kraal at Ayudhya on the occasion of a royal elephant drive or hunt. The last of these royal drives took place in 1906 when the Duke of Turin visited this country. Since that year these herds have not been molested or disturbed for a royal drive, but have been forced back to the forests bordering the great central paddy plain.

Types & classification. There are several types of elephants known under different names in this country. Those with peculiar

characteristics are the "ช้าง สีดำ" (distinguished or noble elephant), those of colour different from type "ช้าง สีปลาด" (the colour variant elephant), those with a black skin and nails, the "ช้าง เนียม" (the black elephant) as well as animals of the ordinary type, amongst which, however, there is found a tuskless variety known as the "สีดอ", this animal having a short tooth protruding from the jaw in place of the tusk. The "สีดอ" possesses great courage, sagacity and strength, is mostly used in elephant hunts, for fierce battles between the tame and the wild animal are not infrequent. The male elephant is known as a "พลาย" (plai) and the female as "ศรี" (pang). They are given names like human beings with the distinguishing sex prefix of "Ai" or "Ee", but greater respect is paid to the female for she is frequently accorded the higher title of "แม่", whereas the male is never called "นาย". White elephants and those of peculiar colour when in the possession of a monarch are given high rank corresponding to titles conferred on dignitaries of the State, such as Phya and Phra. It would seem from an examination of a list of these titles that a female elephant was never given a title higher than that of Phra, but was classified as "นางพระยา ศรี".

Mythological beliefs. The Siamese have also accepted the Indian division of elephants into castes, following closely the Hindu caste system. The first and highest castes are those of the lineage of Brahma and were transmuted from the 8 petals and 24 portions of the stamen of the golden lotus which grew from the navel of Narayana and were presented by him to Lord Siva on Mount Kailasa, who in his turn gave them to the Supreme Lord Brahma. They are the Brahmans or priests (purohitas) of elephants. The possession of elephants of the lineage of Brahma assures longevity and wisdom to their owners. The Kshatriya caste was transmuted from the 8 portions of the stamen accepted by the Lord Siva from Narayana. They possess

royal attributes and virtues. The possession of elephants of the lineage of Siva assures wealth and power to their owners. The Vaisaya class was transmuted from the 8 portions of the stamen of the original lotus given by the Lord Siva to the Lord Vishnu. They possess the qualities of mercy and love in the same degree as Vishnu the preserver. They are the commercial and agricultural caste of the elephants, and their possession assures victory over all evil and freedom from want. The Sudra class was transmuted from the 133 portions of the stamen of the original lotus given by the Lord Siva to Agni when in attendance on the three great lords at the time of Narayana presenting the golden lotus to the Lord Siva. Those of the lineage of Agni possess both evil and good qualities at variance one with the other; they are the Sudras or servile caste of the elephants, and their possession ensures the enjoyment of material pleasures and plenty.

Elephants descended from these four lineages are again subdivided into numerous classes, each class having its own peculiar attributes, form and colour.

The first elephant. The first of all elephants is the magnificent Airavata, the riding and war elephant of the Lord Indra. References to this animal are frequent in Hindu Mythology and the Ramayana. In the Siamese version he is represented as having 33 heads in consonance with the 33 heavenly states (สวรรค์). In India he only possesses one and sometimes three heads, representing the 3 great lords, Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. The reputation of the great Airavata has been to some extent transcended in Buddhist countries by the noble elephant "Chaddanta". It is more than probable that the Latin, "elephantus, elephas, elephantis", and the Greek "elephas, elephantos", are mere corruptions of the Sanskrit word Airavata, sometimes pronounced "eravanna, eravata, and eravanta". The elephant fills an important place on the stage of the former births of Buddha, the Enlightened One. The most notable stories are :—The Vessantara

Jataka; The Silavanaga Jataka; the Mati Pasaka Jataka, and the Chaddanta Jataka.

The White elephant a cause of war.

The possession of a white elephant by a king was an event of great importance and sometimes was the cause of war. In Siamese history there are several instances of this, notably the attack by King Bayin-Naung of Hanasavadi on King Maha Chakrapati of Siam, towards the end of the sixteenth century. The entry of a white elephant into the capital was marked with great pomp and ceremony, religious and secular, the ceremonies in their main features being Brahminical. At one time these animals were treated as being of kingly rank due to their being of the lineage of the great lords as briefly described above.

Lullabies sung.

It may not be generally known that after the capture of a white or noble and distinguished animal, lullabies were composed and sung to make it sleep, the theme of the composition being in praise of its high qualities, and eulogies were also sung to wean it from the craving for the forest life. This curious practice has the sanction of antiquity, for Megasthenes, a Greek ambassador at the court of the Hindu Emperor Chandragupta, about 300 B. C., whose capital was at Pataliputra (modern Patna), records that the Indians sang songs to the accompaniment of music to soothe and coax wild elephants recently captured. Megasthenes also gives a story of a white elephant which was caught and kept by its owner; there arising between the two a great friendship and love. The king hearing of this white elephant commanded that it be made over to him, but the owner refused and fled to the jungle with his animal. The king sent men in pursuit and a great fight in which the elephant fought on the side of its master took place. The king's men were put to flight, and the elephant nursed its master, who had been wounded, bringing him to convalescence. It is not recorded that the king obtained possession of this animal, but the story goes to prove that over 2,000 years ago the white elephant was the object of desire on

the part of a monarch, and the same is amply proved by the Jataka stories in which the white elephant plays an important part.

Statuettes in the Phra Sriratanasasdarama Temple.

Within the walls of the temple Wat Phra Sriratanasasdarama, the home of the Emerald Buddha adjoining the great palace in Bangkok, may be found 21 statuettes of elephants each with its name carved on the pedestal representing the white elephants which have added to the splendour, prestige, and prosperity of the Royal House of Chakkri of Siam.

The use of elephants.

It will be readily understood from the few notes given above that the elephant has a fixed place in the mythology, religion, history and court-life of the country; and beyond this the elephant has a place in the everyday activities of the people. The elephant has been used in war, for which it has to be specially trained. Kings would fight in single combat on their elephants, and these animals were also used for dragging heavy ordnance from point to point and in many other ways assisting the soldier in his hazardous operations. In the everyday life of the people, elephants not many years back were very generally used for the transportation of heavy articles of commerce and to-day are still used for dragging timber from the forests and for freeing timber jammed by floods in the streams. They are also used for riding purposes but in a lessening degree every year. In some of the backward jungle districts especially amongst the Karen, elephants take a place somewhat akin to the horse or ox, living with their owners on easy terms of intimacy and liking.

Elephants used in ceremony of praying for rain.

So deeply has the elephant entered into the life of Asia that it has been called on to take part in the ceremony of praying for rain which is performed in the seventh month of the year, (June-July).

A lack of rain brings disaster on the people of an agricultural country. This ceremony has not been carried out for many years. Two "must" elephants would be tied to posts with strong ropes of

sufficient length to allow their tusks to meet, but not long enough to allow them to inflict a wound. These animals being much excited by their "must" condition would rush at each other in an attempt to fight, their tusks would clash, giving forth a loud sound. The animal which succeeded in forcing its tusks between those of its opponent and with this leverage, in raising the other's head was deemed to be the victor. The animals would then be separated and the mahouts indulge in a competitive dance and exchange of views regarding the other's skill and courage. This false combat known as "ဗန္ဒုဂ်" bamru-nga (clashing of tusks) would be fought three times, followed by the dance and word war on the part of the mahouts. The movements, rhythm and postures of the dance followed a set form.

Religious discipline necessary in elephant hunting & use of special language.

The hunting and catching of wild elephants is a pursuit still engaged in, and as it is one which demands the possession of activity, courage and skill on the part of the hunters, it has been found necessary to surround these operations with the glamour and discipline of religion and the exercise of virtue. These operations are of necessity carried out in the depths of the great forests inhabited and governed by spirits and much attention has to be paid to the spirit people in order to obtain their favour and protection. These attentions take the form of supplicatory prayers, the reciting of "mantras" and stanzas, sacrifices-the offering of food and drink, the worship of Agni, the Lord of Fire, and the use of a language known by the hunters as "ကဒ်ဒေဝ်" (language of the spirits of the forest). In all these forms of worship are found traces of animism, demonism, Brahminism and Buddhism, showing very clearly the development of the religious life of the people, how they have passed from belief to belief, retaining a little here and discarding a little there. A description of these ceremonies and acts of worship will be given in this paper. The most peculiar part of

the operation is the use of the spirit language. What is this language, where does it come from? It does not seem to have much in common with any of the languages used in the surrounding districts such as Khmer, Sue, So, Sek, Puthai, La-wa, Lao, Yao, Tin, Kha, and other aboriginal dialects. This spirit language is used by the hunters on the Korat plateau where the inhabitants are Khmer, Sue, So, Sek, Puthai and Lao, as well as in the Lao provinces of Northern Siam, Nan, Chieng-rai and Chieng-mai where the people are Lao, Yao, Tin, Kha, Miao and Mushu. The most skilled elephant hunters in the Korat region are found amongst the Sue of Surindr, a people divided into many septs, each using slightly different dialectic variations of the original language. This spirit language is not used in the seaboard provinces of the country, where, however, the fake or taboo language is spoken during elephant trapping operations in its stead. It may be interesting to know that in all ancient Hindu plays there always appears a character speaking the language of "pisaccha", a language unknown to the audience, and as far as that goes the same peculiarity may be found on the European stage of olden times, where it was usual for a character to speak "gibberish", a form of spirit language. What is the "pisaccha," or the original Gibber? He undoubtedly was one of the aboriginal tribes in the lowest state of civilization. Can this spirit language be found to have its origin in the language of the ancient pisaccha? To push this matter a little nearer home, most of my readers will remember games of their childhood, in which it was necessary to use gibberish or nonsense language in the belief that they were using the tongue of the spirit.

Two methods for catching elephants employed.

In Siam the hunting and catching of elephants is carried out in two ways. In the Northern provinces of Chieng-mai, Chieng-sen, Chieng-rai, Nan, as well as in the Southern seaboard provinces, the kraal or keddah system is employed. These enclosures are made in the neck of a pass in the hills or other place where the conformation

of the ground lends itself to this purpose, and the wild herd is driven by means of trained hunting elephants into the enclosure, where a selection is made from those trapped, the others being allowed to go free.

Megasthenes, record of an elephant hunt 2200 years ago and mention of a white elephant.

Perhaps one of the oldest records of the method and manner of catching wild elephants by the keddah system is given by Megasthenes, mentioned above, as well as by the historian Arrian. They both say that a large plot of arid jungle was selected, a wide and deep trench was dug round it, the earth from the trench being used as an embankment or wall, and a bridge, covered with earth to conceal its purpose and to prevent suspicion arising on the part of the wild elephants to be driven into the enclosure, was thrown across this trench or moat. Well trained female elephants were placed within. A herd of wild elephants was rounded up and driven towards this enclosure, where getting scent of the females they moved over the bridge into it. The bridge was removed and the animals left undisturbed until weakened by hunger and thirst. The hunters would then rebuild the bridge, enter the enclosure and overcome the wild elephants they selected by blows, and make them captive. These captives would be led away by the decoy animals, tied to posts and trained in much the same manner as is done to-day.

In the Eastern provinces on the Korat plateau, including Petchaboon, wild elephants are really hunted and caught, trained fighting animals being used. This form of hunting requires great skill and courage on the part of the men and elephants employed, and it is this form which I describe in paper No. 1. An account of trapping by the kraal or keddah method is given in paper No. 2. A collection of the words of elephant command used in various parts of the country has been made and is given for the purpose of comparison as an appendix to papers 1 and 2. It will be noticed that most of the command words are of foreign origin and used very generally by all elephant men irrespective of their race or language.

This would seem to point to the fact that the catching, training and use of elephants was learnt from foreigners. I have gathered together a number of words of the spirit language and also many of the fake or taboo language. These vocabularies form paper No. 3. The fake or taboo language is much used by all jungle people when faced by the darkness and terrors of the great forests, mountains and torrents. The people will not use everyday words, but prefer to invent new expressions in the belief that the spirits listening will not know that they are being spoken of and will therefore not visit their vengeance on the speakers. The vocabulary which I give has been collected in the seaboard provinces of the Circle of Nagor Sridhammaraj.

Paper No. 1.

Elephant Hunting on the Korat Table-Land.

Preliminary remarks. The following sketch is an attempt to give an account of an elephant hunt (แรกโพนช้าง) as carried out in the Eastern provinces of Siam on the table-land of Korat, together with its framework of spirit worship. It will be noticed that a hunt is not a simple everyday affair in which a man only risks his life, it is a matter which has to be approached in a reverential spirit and is encompassed by many rites and observances, all designed with the one object of securing the favour and protection of the spirits, whether of the lasso-rope, forest, or elephants. A hunt has several main features, the collection of the men and ceremonies in connection therewith, the homage rendered to the lasso-rope, ceremonies pertaining to the obtaining of permission to enter the forest, those in connection with the camp, the finding of the herd and the hunt, the training of the captives and the return home. Each step is surrounded by its own ritual, the performance of which requires the possession on the part of the chief huntsman of much knowledge of spirit, forest, and animal lore. This ritual is an entangled mess of the beliefs of the people, having their origin in the ancient all-pervading and still practised worship of the spirits, as well as the Tantric phase of Brahminism and the mystic aspect of Buddhism, all of which are based on a strong faith in spiritual power. There will be found evidence of the primitive belief that the object is the spirit itself which denotes an understanding of the unity of the universe, take for instance the lasso and Mother Earth, they are the spirits. There are rites demonstrating the fact that the people had moved from this belief of unity to one of separation, for it will be observed that some objects are no longer the spirits, but rather the habitation of the spirits, as instanced in the spirits of the trees, and there are also examples showing the people's belief in the power of mantras to ward off evil or bring forth good as well as instances of the worship of Agni. Perhaps two of the most curious

features of the ritual are that the hunter is required to give up the world with its sense pleasures and pains, much in the same manner as when a man enters the Buddhist priesthood, and that he loses his identity in that of his elephant.

Establishing rules of conduct.

Elephant hunting is a pursuit fraught with and surrounded by many dangers, so it behoves those engaging in it to approach the matter with clean and pure hearts. It requires the protection of nature in its divine aspect to enable the hunters to pass through those dangers unscathed, for, if they were holding sinful or lustful thoughts protection could not be extended to them. Owing to these dangers those following this occupation have built up a definite procedure and rules of conduct which embrace not only the actions of those actively engaged, but also wives in their distant homes. A husband and wife are one, and as the man has voluntarily renounced all worldly activities during the period of the hunt, so it is required of the woman that she comport herself in accord with the precepts of purity, and not embellish or beautify her person by artificial means during the absence of the husband.

Elephant hunting is an ancient profession. The experience gained from the earliest times has been handed down from father to son, for this profession has become hereditary in many families. The totality of this experience gained during a period extending over several thousand years has expressed itself in the formation of strict rules of procedure and conduct.

The business of elephant hunting is in fact of such a serious nature and so many prohibitions and restrictions are laid on the acts of the men so employed that it has also led to the establishment of a complete system of organisation.

Organisation. Elephant men start as menials, they have to perform all the unpleasant and hard work, and when riding are the assistants of the Mahout or he who sits on the elephant's neck, these menials have their place on the hindquarters of the elephant, they are known as "Ma" (ɛɔ). When a menial has proved himself to

have attained some skill in the handling of elephants, he is promoted to the position of "Mahout of the left". Men holding these positions must possess some skill in their business and also have some knowledge of the language used in the forests, which may be termed spirit language. Mahouts of the left are promoted to the position of Mahouts of the right, who having attained some success as hunters are elevated to "Khu" (คู). These "Khu" have the duty of conveying instructions to the Mahouts from the Chief hunter, and also of seeing that such orders are properly performed. The position above that of "Khu" is that of "Pakaun" (ปะกาน). There is a Pakaun of the right and of the left, they are the deputies of the Chief hunter. The Chief hunter is known as "Patiyai" (ปะฎิยาย) and on him falls a variety of duties, for in addition to directing the operations he is also the priest of the hunters; he performs all ceremonies, such as making offerings to placate the evil spirits, suitable sacrifices to obtain the protection and help of the good spirits, to officiate at the ceremony of lustration and absolution from sin, and before entering the forests to hold converse with the spirits to obtain their permission to enter. These men having passed through all the stages related above, become much versed in forest, elephant, and spirit lore. Their authority is upheld by the respect called forth from those under them by their great knowledge. In most districts where wild elephants roam the forest, will be found an ancient man known as the "Patiyai-thoat" (ปะฎิยายถวย). He knows all there is to know of forests, elephants, and spirits, and it is to him that all engaged in the pursuit of elephant hunting appeal for information regarding these matters, and also for decisions about procedure and rules of conduct.

Fee. The payment of a fee to the "Patiyai" has to be made when promotion to any of the above mentioned grades is granted. For instance a menial who has not yet entered the

priesthood, when promoted to be a Mahout of the left has to pay 1 baht, 1 fowl, and 1 bottle of spirits, but he who has performed his obligations as a priest has to pay double this amount, and menials who are unmarried have to pay treble the fee mentioned here. A Mahout of the left on promotion to Mahout of the right pays 5 bahts, 3 fowls and 3 bottles of spirits. A Mahout of the right when made a "Khu" pays 6 bahts, 4 fowls and 4 bottles of spirits. A Khu when promoted to "Pakam" of the left pays 10 bahts 4 fowls and 4 bottles of spirits, and a similar fee on promotion to Pakam of the right. A man holding the rank of Pakam on being made a Patiyai pays 20 bahts, 6 fowls, and 6 bottles of spirits. A layman who has taken elephants into the forest and slept therein for over four nights is deemed to be a Mahout and is eligible for the position of "Khu", and when granted this grade pays a fee of 6 bahts, 4 fowls and 4 bottles of spirits. No fee is necessary for the position of "Patiyai-thoat". All fees so paid are the perquisite of the Patiyai.

Success in the catching of elephants being the basis of promotion, it is laid down that 15 animals must be taken before a hunter can be promoted to be a Mahout, but as elephants are divided into classes (see Introductory note), it has been further prescribed that one noble elephant (ช้างพลายสำคัญ) is equal to five common. Promotion above that of Mahout does not require that any specific number be caught.

Lectures. The Patiyai holds regular meetings in his house or some other convenient place where he, being assisted by one Pakam, one Khu, one Mahout of the right and one of the left, delivers lectures on all matters concerning elephants, forest-signs, oblations, sacrifices, incantations, and spirit-language, as well as the rules of conduct required of men when engaged on this business.

Preparations for the hunt. When the season, which extends from December to March, arrives for commencing hunting operations, the Patiyai, the experienced one, apprises his men and requires them to make preparations and be ready to start when he

has selected the auspicious hour and day. The experienced one who is versed in some degree in reading the face of the heavens makes a solitary vigil about the third watch of the night, to ascertain from the position of the stars the right time to leave for the hunt. Having fixed the time and day, word is sent round to the men who must henceforth divorce themselves from their ordinary mode of living, separate themselves from their wives and families, and as far as possible endeavour to be pure in thought and act, for they have to participate in many ceremonies which can only be approached by those who have consecrated themselves to the new life. In fact this change demands that they drop even their names; if a man is a Mahout, he must henceforth be known by the name of his elephant with the prefix Pakam, if he is a menial then he is called after his elephant with the prefix "Ai" or "Ee" according to the sex of the animal. This implies that the men lose their identities in that of their animals.

Enjoinments on women. The first thing these men have to do is to take farewell of their wives and families and when doing so to enjoin on the women the necessity for being chaste, and to refrain from embellishing their bodies with cosmetics, powders, perfumes, turmeric, and on no account to cut their hair. It is also required of the women that when cutting fire-wood they shall cleave right through with the axe, and not use the foot as a lever for breaking. Guests and strangers must not be received and allowed to sleep in the house, this prohibition applies also to relatives. It is forbidden to use a broom in sweeping the house, all dust and other rubbish must be gathered in the hands and cast away some distance from the house. Wood and other articles shall not be cast under the house, and women should not sit with their limbs across the sill of the door. Nor shall they sleep on a mattress. Wives shall not sing or show any signs of happiness nor shall they being in the house speak to any one on the ground. Should the wife of a man who is absent on a hunt, contravene or disobey any of these injunctions, injury will befall the absent man, and if the woman is

unfaithful, he will lose his life by falling from his elephant, or by attack of a tiger or other wild beast. I was told of a variation of these requirements as existing on the east bank of the Mekhong, a variation exactly the opposite. When a man goes on a hunt he asks a male friend to live in his house as a companion to his wife. On his return from the hunt on meeting his wife his first question is to ascertain whether the wife has had intercourse with the lodger, if she replies in the negative the husband is much upset, for he will then have to hand over to his substitute all the profit obtained in the hunt, whereas should the woman reply in the affirmative the husband is highly pleased for all the profit of the hunt remains his own. The substitute returns to his home, and the husband resumes his ordinary relations with his wife on whom no stigma falls. I will not guarantee the truth of this story, but it is current throughout the eastern provinces.

The thong-lasso. The most important thing in connection with a hunt is the thong lasso. The greatest attention and care has to be bestowed on the lasso, for the very lives of the men depend on its reliability and strength, which must be great enough to hold the most powerful captive in his struggles to escape. The lasso is housed in a building standing high and separated from the homes of the villagers, no woman is allowed to trespass within the precincts of this house. A fact stands forth with clear definition which is of importance and must be set down here, it is that the lasso is not protected by any particular spirit or possessed by one. It is the spirit itself, and it is for this reason that such honour is paid to it. There is no ceremony of propitiation in order to obtain its favour as in the case of spirits which inhabit or protect certain things. Prayers of supplication are offered up begging that the lasso spirit will use its strength in furtherance of the interests of the hunt.

Reading of the omens from fowl mouth-bone. Each man, who has been notified of the coming hunt, must proceed to the meeting ground which is generally near the lasso house. He must bring with him certain articles for the purpose of making

the sacrificial offerings, they are: a fowl, rice, a bottle of spirits, candles, sandal wood, incense tapers, cigars, betel-nut, betel-leaf, and small banana leaf cups for holding flowers, as well as four bananas tied round with red and black thread. Although the actual articles used in the ceremony may differ according to the custom or practice in vogue in any particular district, it is absolutely indispensable to bring the first five. When the sacrifice is offered up to the lasso-spirit an invocation is made using these words: "ลาบุทอน เจ้าคอเจ้าโวแย่ย เดียวนี้ จะพาเจ้าคอน นอนเถียน ชิโรก จิตมาย ก็ ขอให้เห็นในคาไก่ ชิโรก จิตมาน ก็ให้คาไก่เป็นแยกแยกเป็นได เห็นบ่อโรกบ่อตมาน ก็ให้เป็นหัวขัดตัวเขียว," which rendered into English means: "O Goodness, Chief of the lasso shrine, we are about to take thee, O Lasso to the forest, where thou shalt sleep in strange places; if we are to be favoured with good fortune let this be manifested in the mouth-bones of the fowls sacrificed by the same, by these being arched as the yoke and forked like a plough; if fortune is not to be ours, let this be manifested in bruises and dark spots on the skin of the heads of the fowls".

The fowls which are sacrificed on the altar by the Patiyai play an important part in this ceremony. The fate of a hunter, as to whether he shall join in the hunt or not, is decided by certain omens or signs seen in the mouth-bone and head of each fowl by the Patiyai, who is gifted with powers of divination. In those districts where the mouth-bone is used the Patiyai takes it in his hands for examination saying "เสี่ยนจะพาน้ำได้ม้าได้ช้างมาแล้ว"—"Our good friend (the lasso) is about to give us elephants". In the province of Nagara Rajasima (Korat), the following omens are read from the bone. (1) Should both ends of the bone be bent backward symmetrically, it is taken as a good omen, fortune will attend the hunt. (2) Should the end of the bone be bent sideways, the herd of wild elephant will break away and scatter in all directions, but fortune will attend the hunt. (3) Should the ends of the bone run

straight, neither good nor bad fortune will attend the hunt, animals may or may not be captured. (4) Should the ends of the bone bend downwards, it is a bad omen, injury or death will befall some of the hunters.

In the province of Chaiyapom which lies North of Korat, the acceptance is somewhat different, for in this province should the bone be straight with the ends bent upwards and the skin of the fowl clean and white, it is a good omen, fortune will attend the hunt; should however the bone be shrunk, deformed and bent and the skin of the head of the fowl black or dark, it is a bad omen, misfortune will attend the hunt.

If at this ceremony the fowls were sacrificed together without distinction of ownership, it now becomes necessary to make a second offering to ascertain which member of the party is in disfavour with the lasso spirit so that he may be rejected. Each man must bring one fowl, one bottle of spirits, four banana-leaf cups for flowers, four candles, four quids of betel, four cigars, which are offered up on the altar in the hall of ceremonies where the lassoes are placed. Each man makes his own offering and calls on his ancestors experienced in the ways of the hunt to accept it. The reading of the omens or signs is as follows: (1) Should there be one or two black spots in the skin of the back portion of the neck of the fowl, great fortune will attend the hunt, it may also mean that there will be a long but successful chase. (2) Should there be dark lines in the skin above the eye sockets, it is a very good omen, the hunters will succeed in placing the lasso at the first throw round the hind leg of the animals they are trying to catch. (3) Should the point projecting from the joint of the bone be bent towards the left, good fortune will attend the hunt. (4) Should the point projecting from the joint of the bone be bent and shrunk so that it touches the bone itself, misfortune will attend the hunt and the owner of this fowl should not be allowed to join the party, for if he or his elephant does so, illness will be his lot and he may die. (5) Should the point projecting from the joint of the bone be straight, it

is a good omen, many elephants will be caught. (6) Should the skin of the head of the fowl be dark in colour or bruised, it is a bad omen; the owner of this fowl should not be allowed to take part in the hunt, for if he does he will be killed by falling from his elephant, or by a tiger.

In the province of Kukhan the readings of the bones are as follows: (1) Should the point projecting from the joint of a bone be arched or curled, it is an omen portending that the owner of this fowl will succeed in capturing elephants. (2) Should the point projecting from the joint of the bone be straight or at an angle, or be arched but not in contact with the bone, or should it be bent towards either the right or the left, or have no kink or accretion, it is a sign that no elephant will be caught, and the members of the hunting party will fall victims to disease. The owner of a fowl which gives bad omens must not be allowed to join the party.

In the Northern province of Bayab, which includes the Lao territories of Chieng-mai, Lamproon, Lampang, Phre, Nan, Chieng-sen, etc, the practice is somewhat different. Each hunter before joining the party must bring two fowls, one bottle of spirits, one handful of tobacco, and place them with his iron driving goad before his elephant. The Chief hunter offers up a prayer to the king spirit of the forest, the spirits of the trees and the servitors of the king spirit, and begs them to shower favours on the petitioner. Each man now presents the mouth-bone of his fowl to the Chief hunter for him to read the omens. Should the point projecting at the joint of the bone be slightly bent, moderate fortune will attend the party; should it be much bent there will be great good fortune. Should, however, the point be straight it is a bad omen. The owner of this fowl together with his utensils as well as his clothing is taken by the Chief hunter to the bank of a stream of running water, where water consecrated by the recitation of certain stanzas is poured on him, so that by this act of lustration all evil may be purged from the sinner and carried away by the running water. His clothing must be washed. This ceremony over, the men

together with the Chief hunter cry in unison, "He is purified" and this man may then join the party.

In this province, there are two other manners of reading the omens. I cannot find that they are used in any other part of the country. During the ceremony of offering up prayers to the leather lasso imploring the spirit to exert its strength and skill on behalf of the hunters, candles are lit and fixed to a great tree. The flame of each candle is carefully watched, if it rises high by leaps, the omen is good and the owner of this candle may join the hunt; if, however, the candle burns steadily, the flames not leaping, the omen is bad and the owner cannot be allowed to take part in the hunt until he has been purified by the ceremony of lustration described above. Swords are also used for giving the omens. A sword is hung up so that it may swing freely. Two men, candidates for the hunt perform this ceremony of reading the omens. They stand one on each side of the sword, pointing with a finger at the flat side of the blade where it joins the hilt, give voice to a wish that the sword may turn round to either the right or the left. Should the sword move in accord with the wish expressed, it is a good omen, there will be a good catch; should the sword remain steady, it is a neutral omen, there will be neither good nor bad fortune; but should it swing round in the direction opposite to that wished, it is a bad omen, the man wishing cannot be allowed to join the hunt for great misfortune will attend it, he must be purified before being accepted as a member of the hunt. In all districts before homage is paid and oblations are offered to the lasso spirit, the hunters must circumambulate the lasso-shrine thrice, blowing on a buffalo horn when passing its eastern side.

Start for the hunt, wearing of waist-belts necessary as having protective powers.

Prayers having been made to the lasso-spirit, the omens read, the men selected, the hunting party with its elephants is formed and a start is made for the serious business of the hunt. The lassoes having been placed on the elephants and the Chief hunter being seated on the neck of his mount calls out:

"Omnipotent One, kindly lead the way, thy slaves will humbly follow, and grant to us the favour of thy protecting hand to ward off and frustrate all evil". (เชิญพระคู (พระอินทร์ศร) เดินนำ ผู้ข้าเดินหลัง ลัทธาตัว วินาศสันติ). Each of the senior hunters should tie round his waist a sheath-belt made of cloth into which he may put all the odds and ends such as parched rice (a kind of iron ration), medicinal roots and herbs; the menials are only allowed to use sheath-belts made of coarse hemp. These belts must be always worn round the waist as a necessary defense against the attacks of evil spirits, should this precaution be neglected the men so neglectful will be visited by evil spirits at night who will squeeze their testis and cause great pain. It is however curious that these men are not allowed to carry on their bodies either small images of the Buddha (รูปพระปฏิมากร) or charms with cabalistic signs inscribed on them (ยะกุต พิศนุ), for these amulets are deemed to be eminently efficacious against demon power. Can it be that the wearing of these sheath-belts has any analogy with the sacred cord worn by the twice-born (Brahman).

Begs for permission to enter forest, and for protection from the king-spirit of the trees, LadyMother Earth, & ancestors.

Before entering the forest it is necessary to obtain permission to do so from the guardian spirit. The Chief hunter on bended knees informs the spirits of the forests and hills of the number of men and elephants forming his party, and then recites the following stanza partly in the spirit language:— "โอมะนิกะยิกะนะกะยะสะทิสะมะวะสะตะนิ ทาสะสันนิ์ในคบล่ม ปล่อยทานนิ์ดูคบเท่ย โอมสวะสะโลกะโมลิสันตะ," which rendered into English means: "Salutation to thee, O Beneficent Lady Mother Earth, and to ye spirits of the forest, I beseech ye to protect and safeguard us in our journeyings along forest paths and in forest glades and in the hunt that we may enjoy well being and be unharmed

by the dangers of the forest and of our enemies, and that the same may be frustrated". The road into the forest having been opened by the use of the magic inherent in this mantra the party proceeds on its way. At the foot of the first great tree encountered, another ceremony of propitiation has to be performed. The Chief hunter sitting on the neck of his elephant and facing the tree cries in a loud voice:— "เจ้าต้นไม้ เชิญเจ้าออกไป สัจาตัวินาศสันติ," which is a mantra recited for the purpose of beseeching the queen spirit of the tree to leave her home, that the tree may be used as a tying place for newly captured elephants during the period of training, and may be translated thus: "O Spirit of the tree, please quit your arboreal home and surrender it to us in a spirit of self-sacrifice." The party halts here, but before each man descends from his elephant, he must enquire of the Lady Mother Earth whether she is present to receive him by saying the following stanza:— "นาคะธะนีเจ้าเอ่ย อยู่มสิมีเมียปัสัจาตัวินาศสันติ" — "O Lady Mother Earth, Benevolent One, art thou present and willing to receive us in a spirit of kindly protection?" The men now get down from their elephants to Mother Earth and with much reverence remove the leather lassoes from their place on the back of the elephants to the ground. Before doing this however, it is necessary to repeat this mantra:— "โอม เนนิกเยิกแผนก แมกะวิกามมะมะนี สิทธิ สาหะ", with the purpose that Mother Earth shall receive the lasso spirit into her bosom, this mantra in English has this value: "Salutation, O Lady Mother Earth, please exercise and extend to us thy benevolent power that we (the lasso-spirit?) may pass safely o'er thy person and obtain the fruition of our desires". The leather lassoes having been placed on the ground, the spirit is fed with small pieces of the cooked flesh of a fowl, placed between the coils of the thongs at each point of the compass. The spirits of the ancestors of the hunters are now fed. Banana leaves are cut into two squares, one square placed on the other so as to cover half of it. A bit of the boiled flesh of a fowl is placed on each square, a little

spirit is dropped on the flesh as well as a little water. The ancestral spirits are invited to partake of the meal provided, the following words are used for the invitation :— "เพียกาวดะแอนยัญูด เพียดแลัวเยาโชกขอหมานรุกาย ขอให้อยู่ดีมีแม"—"We beseech ye to partake of the rice, fowl, and liquor and having partaken thereof, to favour us with good fortune and to keep us safe from all evil things, sickness and danger". There is a variation to this stanza used in the province of Kalasindhu where it is worded thus :— "เพียกตัวยัยบ กัยะแอนยัญูด แล้วขอให้อยู่ดีมีแม และให้รุกาย ขอจันตวิตีตุวังตุลสนไปเปนบุลคน คนที่มา.....คน จันต่อ.....ตัว ขออย่าให้เปนอันตราย," which means literally, "O Spirits, kindly partake of the pork, fowl and liquor offered, and grant us thy protection that we may have well being and may succeed in capturing elephants of beauty and strength to become our property and our servants; we are taking into thy domain.....hunters and.....elephants, give these thy protection". The number of men and elephants has to be stated. When resuming the journey the lassoes cannot be raised from the ground to load them on the elephants without first obtaining permission from the Lady Mother Earth. The formula used is "นาพะมะนิจันย่อ โอม เมนิกาเล็กจิบะลม สิทิสวาหะ" which means—"O Lady Mother Earth, please return to us that which we have entrusted to thy care without impediment or obstacle". This status of the leather lasso is so exalted that this ceremony of handing them over to the care of Mother Earth and receiving them back from her bosom has to be repeated each time they are unloaded from or loaded on to the backs of the elephants. When rivers are encountered and have to be crossed or mountains block the way it is necessary for the Chief hunter to beg for permission from the governing spirits to cross or pass over. These words are used" นาพะคงคาจันย่อ อยู่แลัวหือยบ้า สัจาตัวินาคสันติ"—"O Lady Gonga (swift flowing waters) art thou present? If thou art present allow us to pass over in thy safe

keeping". In the case of a mountain, these words are used "เจ้าอยู่เจ้าขา อยู่แล้วหรือบ่ ล้าขาสิ้วนาศสันติ" "O Mountain Lord art thou present? If thou art present allow us to pass over in thy safe keeping".

The hunting camp, its plan & observances to be followed therein.

The hunting party with their elephants having entered the forest it is intended to explore and hunt in, the Patiyai selects a suitable spot for the camp which should if possible be near running water. The business of building the huts is entrusted to the menials. The hut of the Patiyai is located in the centre. The number of huts required is determined by the size of the party. There are many customs to be observed in connection with the camp. Each hut is in charge of one of the senior hunters. Separate door-ways must be used by the senior hunters and menials. Each man must sleep in the same place every night, going to another man's bed is forbidden. This injunction is based on the belief that in so far as the men obey it and sleep in their own beds placed on the same spot every night, so will the elephants whose tracts have been found hover round these tracts and not wander from them. It would seem that this result is obtained by setting in motion some process of sympathetic telepathy. In connection with this belief it should be remembered that the hunters have separated themselves from the material world and are in the spirit world. They are in daily commune with the spirit, they speak the language of the spirit, they have become identified with the elephant world. Menials except those attached to the Patiyai are not allowed to wear coats, the coatless ones may however cover their bodies with a shawl or blanket.

All members of the party must take their meals together and eat at the same time, the rice must be equally divided, the food must not be blown on to cool it nor should insects or other foreign matter which may be on it be blown away with the mouth. Talking at meals is prohibited. Smoking, chewing betel, and talking when

in bed is also strictly prohibited. All menial work such as cleaning the camp, cutting the firewood, carrying the water and cooking the food is performed by the "Ma". The Patiyai, his Pakam and Khu deliver lectures on elephant catching and training, and induct the uninitiated into the intricacies of the spirit language which must be spoken during the whole period of the hunt. If the eggs of a jungle-fowl or an iguana (เหี้ย) are found, they must be presented to the Patiyai, the finder is forbidden to eat them, he may however eat the eggs of a crocodile. The internal organs of any wild ox, deer, or other wild animals must be given to the Patiyai, no one else shall eat of them but they may partake of the flesh.

Worship of Agni in the camp.

Perhaps the most important feature of these camps is the status of the three fires kindled from wood placed at the two sides and the front of the Patiyai's hut.

The fires at the right and left side of the hut are called "Khampuak-sadam" (right) and "Khampuak-sadiang" (left), that at the front "Khampuak-churng" (foot). The fires of the right and left must be made up at a distance of three cubits from the side of the hut on a level with the shoulder of the Patiyai when in a recumbent position, that at the foot is placed at the same distance from the hut. The fires of the right and the left are sacred, they cannot be used for any purpose nor can burning faggots be taken from them for starting other fires. The fire at the foot of the hut is a common fire, its burning wood and ashes may be used for all purposes. These fires must be attended to and kept alight during the whole period the camp is occupied. The fire-wood used in the sacred fires must be one cubit in length and the faggots be placed side by side when the fire is built up. The fires having been kindled the Patiyai on bended knees with upraised and joined hands invokes the favour and blessing of the Lord Agni, "พรหม" which is a prayer for success in taking elephants. Each morning the men in the camp

on rising from their beds must approach the fire in reverential attitude and make obeisance at these shrines of Agni.

A restriction is laid on the conduct of the men, namely that all loose, ribald, bantering and joking conversation is prohibited. Talking about women is on no account allowed, for it behoves the men to enter on the operation of elephant hunting with pure hearts, a continual watch has to be placed at the portals of their minds, in order to prevent the inrush or arising of carnal desires. This restriction must be obeyed with effect from the third night after the men have left their homes.

Inhibitions on conduct of hunters. The ethical thread binding the acts of the men to the precepts of right morality and conduct is very strong, any breach of good conduct produces some ill effect. Should the men take food surreptitiously outside the regular hours fixed for meal, vultures and crows will attack and peck at the provisions collected in the camp. The smelling of rice which has been scorched by fire is forbidden, if this prohibition is contravened then a curious form of fermentative telepathy is set in motion reacting on the wild elephants which when met with will break away and elude capture.

Ceremony of confession & absolution. The camp having been built, and everything being in its place and in order, a very peculiar ceremony has to be conducted by the Patiyai. It may be called "The service and rite of confession and absolution". The Patiyai calls his men together and sitting before them enquires of each whether he has committed any fault or sin against the social order, for if he has, he cannot be permitted to join in the coming hunt without having made a full confession and obtained absolution. The Patiyai as the Chief priest of the hunt and being in close communion with the spirits is invested with authority to hear confessions of sins committed, and grant absolution for the same. From what has already been related, it will be readily realised that the serious business of hunting can only be entered on with hearts

which have been cleansed from all impurities, and each of the men knowing full well the evil things which will befall him if he engages in this pursuit unpurified takes advantage of the opportunity given him by the Patiyai to obtain absolution.

Offerings to Patiyai. Each man approaches the Chief priest in reverential attitude and prostrating himself, makes obeisance by raising his joined hands above his head and makes a full confession of any faults, sins, and crimes, which he may have committed and which lie heavy in his conscience. He presents an offering of a pig, a jar of spirits, one baht, and flowers, sandal wood sticks and candles, two of each, four leaf cups or boxes. Should a pig not be procurable at the time, it may be presented by the penitent on his return to his home. These offerings are required as proof of the earnestness of the sinner to obtain purification, and some of them are required for the oblations to be made to the spirits at the service of absolution. The Patiyai then conducts such penitents to the bank of the stream near the camp, erects an altar and having lit the candles and sandal wood tapers which have been placed on it, informs the spirits of the sins committed by each of the men kneeling before the altar, and mentioning their names and occupation prays that the offerings made may have the power to invoke the help of the spirits to cleanse the penitent of his sins. The penitent asking for absolution uses the following formula, in craving for forgiveness he says:—"O Lord of the forest spirit, please grant me absolution from my sins". The lord of the spirit demands what he has done. The penitent replies "I am a buffalo thief". The man then turns to the lady spirit of Mother Earth and begs her to cleanse him of his sins. The spirit asks what his fault is, he replies, "I am a buffalo thief". The man then turns to the Sun Lord and begs him to cleanse him of his sins. The Sun Lord asks what his fault is, he replies "I am a buffalo thief". This formula having been repeated three times the Patiyai pushes the penitent sinner with his foot into the stream of running water, and then the ceremonial act of lustration is completed

Act of lustration.

and absolution is obtained. From this day forth it is incumbent on these men who have received pardon, to protect themselves against the entry into their minds of evil thoughts and to be loyal to their companions in the hunt. Should, however, any of these men who have been absolved commit an offence again, a second ceremony of lustration as described above must be performed, and twice the amount of the fees fixed paid. Should the offence be that of having committed adultery with the wife of another, the fine to be paid is one baht and one pig. If the offence is that of giving expression to remarks derogatory to the reputation or honour of the Patiyai, the fine is 25 bahts and one buffalo, no abatement is permissible. If, however the offence is one of speaking evil of a companion, the fine is one baht and one bottle of spirits, and the offender is required to beg for pardon from him of whom he has spoken improperly, and in performing this act of apology, must present the ceremonial wax candles, and sandal wood tapers.

Second commission of offence & punishment.

When lack of success in hunt traced to the man who has diverged from the path of virtue, curious & severe punishment inflicted.

If during the progress of a hunt traces of elephants are not found or being found and followed up the herd is not met with, it is held that the guardian spirits of the forest are withholding their favour and the hunt has been led to the wrong forest due to some member of the party having left the path of virtue, the following of which was enjoined on him when he prayed for and received absolution. Enquiries having produced the offender, he is promptly punished; the punishment being that he shall go down on his hands and knees, the lasso ropes to be placed on his back and that he shall be whipped round the camp three times making sounds like the trumpeting of an elephant.

Finding traces of wild elephants.

At the appointed hour for leaving the camp, the Patiyai mounts his elephant skilled in the art of hunting, leads the way into the forest searching for the herd living there. When the first traces are found, the

Patiyai and his men exclaim actuated by feeling of great pleasure: "Here are manifestations in answer to our prayers and offerings made by our true hearts". The traces are followed until the herd is met with. The Patiyai orders his Mahout of the right to take his place on the right side of the herd, and the Mahout of the left to do the same on the left, and to drive the herd of elephants towards the spot on which he with his huntsmen all on their trained hunting-elephants are awaiting their approach. When the herd is not far distant the Patiyai gives orders to his men to spread out and surround the animals. Each man having selected one of the herd for capture, he urges his elephant towards this animal. Each Mahout carries the leg lasso with him, one end of which is tied round his hunting-elephant's neck. The lasso is attached to a long but light pole which the Mahout holds over his shoulder in readiness to slip over the foot of the animal he is attempting to snare. When the hunting elephants approach the herd, it frequently happens that the leader comes forth and gives battle. The Mahout does all in his power to help the animal he is riding, striking the attacker with the lasso pole and the iron driving goad. Should the hunting elephant be worsted in the fight, he flees from the field of battle hotly pursued by the victor, knowing full well this pursuit will not be of long duration and rarely covers more than a mile, for the leader of the herd invariably gives up the chase to return to protect his companions. When the chase is not interrupted by the pugnacity of one of the herd, the Mahout having selected his prey begins hustling him away, and as he runs the trained hunting elephant moves by his side being forced forward to gain a front position by the man on his back striking him on the hind quarters with a ball of iron or lead contained in a string bag attached to the end of a rope. When a favourable position has been gained, the Mahout leans forward and places the lasso in a right position to slip over the foot of the hind leg of the animal. If successful the rope is tightened by

Manner of approaching wild herd.

Selection of wild animal for capture & fight.

The chase & capture

a jerk, the lasso pole is pulled away and dropped. Mahout and his elephant have now to use all their skill and energy in holding the captive, and bring him to a standstill. The chase is a severe strain on both man and beast; however, eventually the captured animal is butted, dragged, pushed, and coaxed to a favourable position near a strong tree, where the hunting elephant with great dexterity runs the leather rope holding him and his captive together round the tree where it is so firmly tied by the men as to prevent its being torn away. The leather lasso is now removed from the neck of the hunting animal. It sometimes happens that the lasso breaks and the wild elephant runs from his enemies; if however, the broken end of the rope is long enough to trail on the ground, a number of men join in the pursuit on foot. If they succeed in getting hold of the end of the rope and can hang on till a good opportunity occurs for running it round the trunk of a tree this is done, the rope is tied and the animal captured. The elephant having been brought to a standstill, the most difficult part of the operation commences, it is the attempt to get the leather neck-rope over the head and round the neck of the captured elephant. The animal always puts up a great fight trying to frustrate every attempt by all means in its power, charging, moving the head, striking the neck-rope with its trunk, trying to tear it from the hands of its tormentors, trampling on it with its feet and biting with its teeth. This struggle may continue for hours, but the Mahout owing to the advantage he possesses from his seat on the neck of his animal and helped by its sagacity and skill, eventually places the rope round the neck of his captive, in preparation for leading him to the tethering post in the training ground. These hunting operations are generally conducted on moon light nights or with the help of torches, but some times in day light.

Difficulty of tying up captured animal.

Taming of capture.

When an elephant has been tamed sufficiently and cowed into submission by using the power of starvation and brute force to allow of its being handled, it is taken

to a tying post which has been erected for the purpose. The owner of the trained hunting elephant which caught this animal prepares an offering of one fowl, one bottle of spirits and one and a half ticals, which having been placed in the right position on an altar before the training post, the Patiyai comes forward and after having recited certain stanzas, the leg tether-rope is put on and thus the act of tying up is completed. A wild elephant having been tied to the training post, the process of taming and training is now entered on. Animals are alternately starved and fed, coaxed, and punished, the tame elephant is always by its side to keep it in submission and teach it by example how to behave in its new status as the companion and helper of man. This training may occupy any time from one to four months according to the temperament and age of the captive. Many animals die during this period, generally the older ones, therefore hunters endeavour to take young animals.

Training of capture.

Ceremony for releasing spirit of elephant & purification of animal.

Before the newly captured animals are taken to the homes of the hunters, it is necessary to drive out the spirit which has lived in the animal in his forest home. Water which has been consecrated and made holy by the recitation of magic stanzas or mantras is sprinkled over the animal and a little rice thrown at it. A bottle of spirits and a fowl are offered up as an oblation to the spirit possessing the elephant, which being unable to resist the power of the magic of the holy water and rice, leaves the animal, accepts and partakes of the food offered. The animal is now freed from all obligations to its companion of the wild herd to which it belonged and can now join with man in his aims and ambitions, whether war, commerce or the chase.

Ceremony of releasing hunters from oligations accepted & translation

The hunt being over, the captured animals tamed, the whole party turn their faces towards their homes, and when two days journey distant, the Patiyai acting as priest has to prepare offerings for the purpose of performing the ceremony known as "ลาธีตลาคม" for freeing the forest spirits from

from the spirit to the material world.

their obligations to help and protect the party which they accepted at the commencement of the hunt. The Patiyai tells the spirits to return to their country and avocations and not to follow and remain with him saying: "The elephants caught are our property and well compensate us for the offerings made to you the spirits". He further enjoins the spirits to continue to protect the forest and beasts therein, and intimates that he will return the following year and make offerings and presents to them as he has done this year.

Ceremony of releasing hunters from obligations accepted & translation from the spirit to the material world.

When about to leave the forest which has been hunted in, a custom has to be observed by the hunters which has the purport of translating the men from the spirit world back to the material one. Each of the hunters must light a candle and make the usual offerings to spirits in order to be freed from the obligations and inhibitions they accepted at the commencement of the hunt. He must also remove and destroy by fire the cord which he tied round his waist at the beginning of the hunt and which has never left his body. By this act of burning the cord, the man is freed from the possibility of spirits interfering in his affairs and doing him injury, and from this moment he may use his mother tongue and engage in all his ordinary pursuits in the same manner as he was wont to do before he left his home.

Curious ceremony when two Patiyai or Chief-hunters meet.

In order that the sense of harmony which is so essential to the successful conduct of elephant hunting may not be disturbed by any discordant note, a curious custom is observed when two Patiyai meet in any camp or path. The younger approaches the elder with respectful bearing and holding the flowers, and candles of pardon, begs for indulgence for any act committed or thoughts held wittingly or unwittingly against the elder, asks for a right of passage and that no misfortune may befall him. The elder gives a benediction and prays that he may succeed in that

which he desires to do. The younger man then departs on his way.

Share rights in elephants. Captured elephants are not shared in equally by all members of the hunt. There is a fixed rule by which certain shares are allotted, this allotment varies according to custom and usage. In the province of Ubol, the owner of the hunting elephant, the Pakam and the Ma have equal rights of property in a captured elephant and the profit accruing from its labour. When sold the proceeds are divided equally amongst these three men. A payment of 4 bahts has to be made by the Ma to the Pakam, to which sum the Pakam adds 4 bahts paying 8 to the owner of the hunting animal on account of the leather-lasso (ฆ้อนหนังควาย). In some cases the share rights are different, for instance the owner of the hunting elephant receives a half-share and the Pakam and Ma a quarter each. Should the hunting elephant have been hired for the hunt, then it is usual to deduct the hire money from the proceeds of the sale of any captured elephant, the balance being divided equally between the owner, the Pakham and the Ma. In the province of Kukhan the share rights are, half to the owner of the hunting animal, the other half being allotted two-third to the Mahout and one-third to the Ma. No payment is required for the use of the lasso. In Chaiyapom the owner of the elephant receives 2 shares and the Mahout and the Ma one each, and it is usual for a sum of Tcs. 20 to be paid to the owner of the lasso in respect of each elephant caught. Should however the lasso be hired then the payment is arranged by agreement. In the province of Buriram there is no fixed rule for the allotment of share rights. In this province the owner of the hunting-animal generally hires a Mahout and Ma, and these men have no right in the animal captured. In Surindr the owner receives 3 shares the Mahout 2 and the Ma 1. In Kalasindhu, the owner, the Mahout and the Ma share equally, and payment on account of the use or hire of the lasso is a matter of arrangement.

Observances peculiar to Chaiyapom. In the district of Chaiyapom and in fact in several others, the observances to be carried out in connection with the making of offerings to the spirits of the

forest which it is intended to hunt in are bound up with local tradition. Only such offerings as the spirits delight in should be given, and for this purpose it is usual to ask those living in the vicinity of the forest what food the spirits partake of. In addition to the food offering each man must chip a piece of wood from a tree, fashion it in the form of two lotus flowers and present these flowers with two candles, two sandal wood tapers, one quid of betel and one cigar to the spirits. An entry into the forest can now be made, and if elephants are not found, it is sure evidence that a mistake has been made in the choice of the food offered. A curious ceremony has to be performed to ascertain the gastronomic desires of the spirits. Clay is taken and moulded in the form of a pig, duck, fowl and a turtle. These are placed on a high altar on a level with the eyes and a fervent wish is held by the Patiyai that the spirits may manifest their requirements by causing one or other of the figures to fall down. Whichever animal is upset food of an animal of that species must be procured and offered.

Some observances peculiar to the province of Surindr.

In the province of Surindr, the ceremony of propitiation of and homage paid to the spirits of the forest before entering the same is somewhat different to that observed elsewhere.

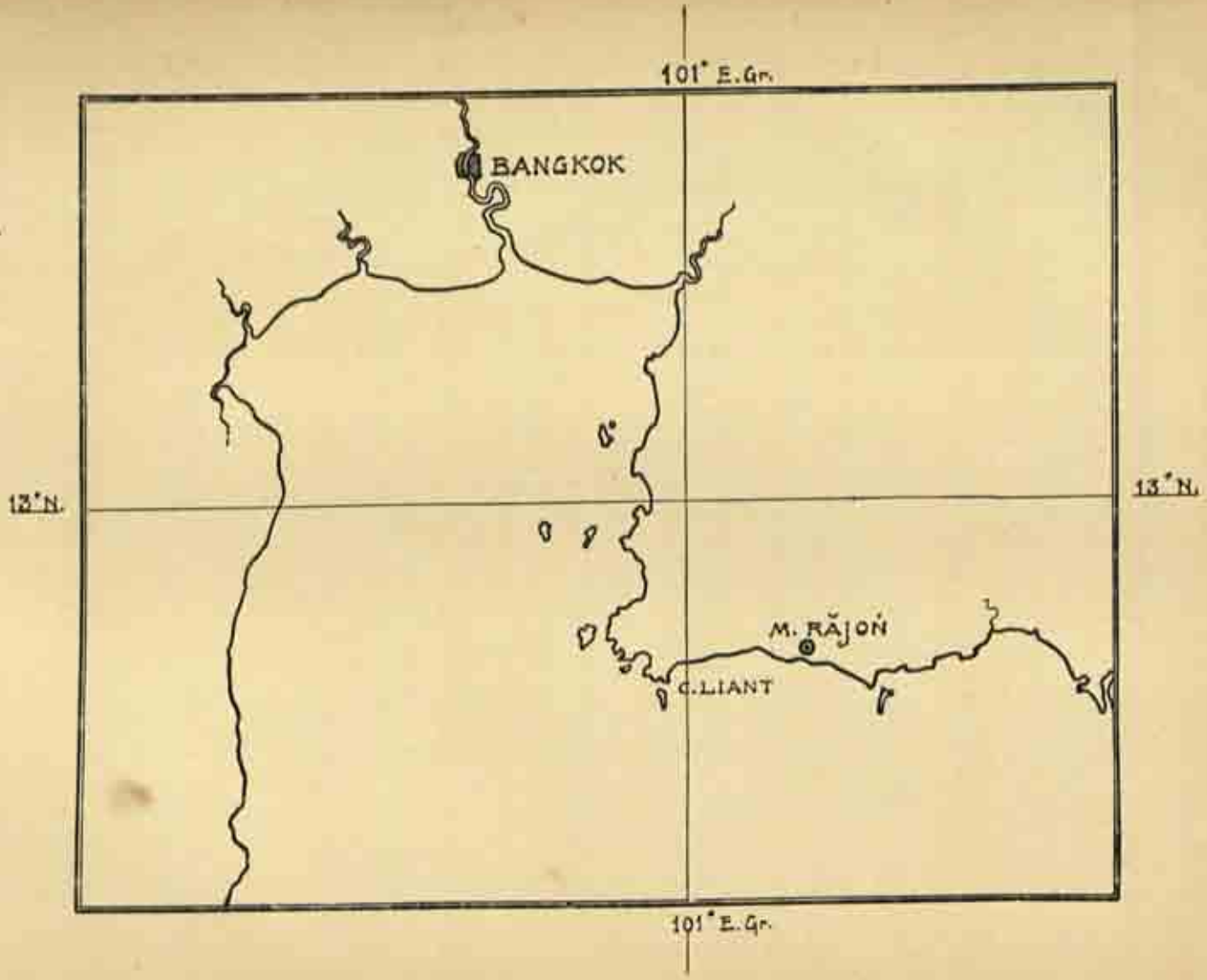
On arrival at the outskirts of the forest a halt is made and the Patiyai sends his men out on a foraging expedition to bring in such animals as they can get by snaring. All species of animals except a crocodile are legitimate as sacrifices to the spirits of the forest, mountains, and elephants. The animals caught are prepared as food, an altar is erected on which is placed two small blocks of wood which are held to be the embodiment of ancestral spirits, the spirits of the paternal and maternal grandfathers who have become spirit governors of the forests. The belief that persons profoundly interested in and much concerned with certain things in this world continue to be so interested and concerned with the same thing in the spirit world is extant among many of the peoples of Asia. All being ready for the acts of propitiation to be made, each man brings

a pair of funnel shaped leaf cups for holding flowers, a pair of candles, the goad or ankus for driving his elephant, a net bag weighted with a lump of iron or lead for striking the hind-quarters of his hunting elephant, elephant breast-ropes, the pole for throwing and placing the lassoes and lays them before the altar together with the sacrificial offerings. The net bag holding the weight used for striking the hind-quarters of the hunting elephant to cause it to accelerate its speed is attached to a cord of about 4 cubits in length which is tied round the waist of the man using it. Homage is rendered to these blocks of wood and prayers are proffered to them asking that the hunt be successful. From this day forth the men who form the hunting party give up and leave the material world and live during the course of the hunt in the spirit world as mentioned elsewhere. The Surindr men while in camp have to perform daily the rite of making offerings of rice to the lasso spirit.

Worship of the lasso-spirit. Two handfuls of boiled rice are placed on a leaf dish by each of the men before his lasso. The men then in a kneeling posture pray in their own language beseeching the spirit of the lasso to capture an elephant each day and they promise that if the spirit complies with the intercession an offering of a pig will be made. The hunters having made the daily oblation when turning from the altar to go the camp cry out with a loud voice: "[illegible]" which translated in the sense of its value means, "O men, depart for the forest to forage for the daily food to be prepared in our pots and pans, together with fuel of propitious lengths suitable to the honour and dignity of our purpose to gain the favour of the spirits, that our hunting elephants may win success". This command is given out every morning that the men engaged in the hunt may perform faithfully their daily duties and not forget the obligations they have accepted. While in camp the following observances must be practised; the Patiyai shall take his meals before the other members of the hunt. At night time the men must sleep with their heads in

the direction of the Chief hunter's hut, when sitting in the camp they must sit on a piece of leather or skin spread on the ground, but at night their beds should be made of leaves, and if a man desires to point at any object he should not use his thumb straightened out, but must bend it in towards his body and point with bended thumb. Should elephants not be caught the amount of rice allowed to each man is reduced in quantity daily, but the other dishes are not curtailed.

This sketch gives a fairly full account of what takes place during an elephant hunt on the Korat plateau and I hope will be of value to those interested in such matters. The next paper will tell you of the rites, ceremonies, observances, and mantras employed by elephant men in the seaboard provinces when out on their business of erecting kraals and driving the herds into them. The procedure is very complex, much more so than that used on the Korat plateau. No step can be taken without invoking the power of the spirits and an amazing number of mantras have to be memorized and understood in order to evoke such power from the spiritual depths of the universe as are necessary to protect the hunters and bring success to the hunt.


101° E. Gr.
BANGKOK
12° N.
13° N.
M. RĂJOŃ
C. LIANT
101° E. Gr.

CORRIGENDA.

P. 97, l. 14, lire : qui touchent le Cap Liant.

P. 98, l. 12, lire : le nom de Liam....

P. 99, note, l. 17, lire : c'est ce que.....

P. 101, l. 29, lire : *cit.* I, pl. XIV,

Note sur le nom du Cap Liant

par

J. Burnay

A propos d'une carte portugaise de l'Indochine, anonyme et datant des environs de 1580, Gabriel Marcel, dans Fournereau, *Le Siam Ancien*, I, p. 18, fait les remarques suivantes: "Pour la partie du royaume de Siam sise au fond de golfe, nous relevons quatre noms de villes: Siam, Odla, Anso et Iliam. Nous avons lieu de penser que la localité ici désignée sous le nom de Siam n'est pas Louvo, mais bien Ajuthia, Jutia, Judia ou Odia, dont on a fait ici deux localités différentes, genre d'erreur qu'on retrouve fréquemment sur les cartes.

"Odla est incontestablement Ajuthia; Anso est orthographié sur les cartes un peu postérieures Anjo, et Iliam a fini par devenir Liam; on trouve encore sur les cartes françaises un cap Liant qui n'est autre qu'Iliam."

Ce texte présente de menues inexactitudes. Nous retiendrons seulement celles qui touchent au Cap Liant.

A lire Gabriel Marcel, on croirait que les cartes françaises sont seules à connaître aujourd'hui le Cap Liant. Mais les cartes anglaises n'ont guère d'autre nom pour ce point.[1] Il faut dire seulement que la prononciation *liant*, à côté de *laiant*, invite à penser que, pour certains Anglais au moins, ce nom de Liant est quelque chose de français.

En second lieu, c'est à tort que Gabriel Marcel parle d'un cap Liant "qui n'est autre qu'Iliam," puisque, ainsi qu'il le dit lui-même, sur la carte étudiée, Iliam est un nom de ville.

Ce qui est exact, c'est que, déjà sur des cartes du XVIIème

(1) Le nom est bien connu des *auteurs* anglais. V. Crawfurd, *Journal of an Embassy* ....., 2ème éd., London, 1830, I, carte; Sir John Bowring, *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, I, p. p. 31 (citation tirée de Moor, *Notices*..... p. 239); H. Warington Smyth, *Five Years in Siam, from 1891 to 1896*, London, 1898, I, p. i.; II, pp. 156 et 265.

siècle, Liam (mais non Iliam) apparaît comme nom de cap, à côté de Liam nom de ville.[1]

Le cap Liam est le cap *de* Liam, et c'est ainsi, par exemple, que Blaew le nomme dans son Atlas publié en 1663. Cf., en 1781, le *Neptune Oriental*, de d'Après de Mannevillette, dans Fournereau, *op. cit.* I, pl. XV.

Si haut que nous remontions, Liam est portugais. Or, à date ancienne, c'est exclusivement le nom sous lequel les Européens connaissent la ville que les Siamois appellent เมืองราชบุรี (M. Rājong, *Pallegoix*). Il est vrai qu'aujourd'hui les cartographes européens eux-mêmes n'appellent plus Rājông que Rājong. Mais, sur les vieilles cartes, le nom de Liant ne s'applique pas encore au cap, auquel seul il s'applique aujourd'hui, sous la forme à peine altérée de Liant.

Il est donc invraisemblable que le nom de Liam ait rien à faire avec le nom siamois du cap Liant: แหลมแหลมสาม (*lém sămé sām*)[2]. J'y vois, au contraire, la forme prise en portugais par le nom siamois de la ville de Rājong.

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(1) Cf. la carte de Janssonius (Fournereau, *op. cit.* I, pl. IX): *C. Liam*; la carte de Pieter Goos, vers 1666 (Fournereau, *op. cit.* I, pl. X), qui porte *Liam* (la ville) et *Hoeck van Liem* pour le cap; et, encore, Hamilton, *A new Account of the East Indies*, London, 1727. La carte qui fait face à la page 160 du tome II, porte *Liam Point* et *Liam*.

(2) Sic et non *sém sām*. La transcription *sahem san* qui figure sur les cartes de l'Amirauté britannique 2720 et 2721, et dans le *China Sea Pilot* (cf. infrà, Appendice), entre autres, est due à une fausse interprétation de la graphie siamoise ambiguë สะแหมสาม, que l'on trouve à côté de แหมสาม. Il existe une île เกาะแมสาม (*mé sām*) et une passe du même nom (ร่องแมสาม). V. Admiralty Chart 2720. Nous avons là un bon exemple de la manière dont s'établit la nomenclature géographique. Autre exemple: l'Atlas du Touring Club italien, 95-96, appelle le cap Liant: *Capo Liantar*. Le relevé des sources cartographiques qui ont servi à établir cette nomenclature, porte *Capo Liantar*, ce qui s'explique tout simplement à partir d'une carte qui, comme celle de l'Amirauté britannique 2721, porte, sur deux lignes, à la différence de 2720:

Cape Liant or
Lem Sahem San

Translitéré, le Siamois (เมือง) เมือง donne *mā ʔyōn*. Mais, si cette prononciation existe, elle n'est pas la plus courante, et il faut transcrire *mᵉyɔn* pour rendre l'usage ordinaire.

Or, la voyelle, ultra brève et de timbre instable, qui figure dans la première syllabe de *mᵉyɔn*, est sujette à subir l'influence de la consonne initiale de la syllabe suivante. C'est ainsi, que dans *phʲyān* < พยาน (*phᵉyān*, "témoin") et ทูตพิเศษ (*thūt phiʰsēt*) < ทูตพยาน, un ᵉ, exactement comparable à celui de *mᵉyɔn*, est passé à ʲ.

Quant à *m*>*l*, c'est un des lieux communs de la phonétique siamoise.

La seule objection que nous voyions à tirer port: *Liam* d'un siamois *mᵉyōn*, est d'ordre chronologique, car nous ne sommes pas renseignés sur la date des évolutions que nous venons de signaler ou de rappeler. Mais l'hypothèse est hautement vraisemblable et, quand on connaîtra mieux les emprunts du portugais au siamois,

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Il n'est pas douteux que la ville nommée Liam sur les anciennes cartes soit celle que les Siamois appelent Rājong. Ce que je voudrais démontrer en détail c'est que le nom du Cap Liant repose sur siam. เมือง. A ma connaissance, cela n'a pas été fait jusqu'à présent, bien que cette explication, si naturelle, ait été entrevue par le traducteur siamois de la version anglaise de La Loubère. En effet dans la légende siamoise de la carte à nomenclature anglaise qui est reproduite en tête de cet ouvrage et qui est prise à l'original anglais du XVIIème siècle, le cap Liant est appelé แหลมเมือง. La carte anglaise originale, qui ne porte pas Liant la ville, porte, pour le cap, *Cap (sic) of Lion*, ce qui correspond assez mal au nom donné par l'ouvrage français: *cap du Lion*, mais le suppose. On trouvera plus bas des renseignements sur ce *cap du Lion*.

J'avoue que je ne suis pas encore parvenu à m'expliquer l'*i* initial d'*Iliam*. Mais, à ma connaissance, le cap n'a jamais porté ce nom, qui, comme nom de la ville, a disparu de bonne heure pour faire place à la forme Liam, étudiée au texte. S'agit-il d'une prothèse vocalique ou d'autre chose, ce'st ce que l'étude des documents portugais anciens pourrait seule nous apprendre.

on pourra décider si *l* et *i* sont, à pareille date, (fin du XVIème siècle), portugais ou siamois.

Passons à la diphtongue finale :-ə̃n.

Le *-am* de *Liam*, si le mot est portugais, doit se lire-*ãu*. Au XVIème siècle, *am* s'écrit très souvent en portugais là où, aujourd'hui, l'on a presque exclusivement la graphie plus phonétique : *ão*. Ex : *Joam*, aujourd'hui *João* (Jean). Le diplomate et polyglotte français La Loubère note l'équivalence des deux graphies dans sa relation *Du Royaume De Siam*, Paris, 1691, I, p. 19.

Si les Siamois ont emprunté directment au portugais le mot *leilão* (vente aux enchères), en siamois : ลิเลา, nous avons un exemple de port. *am* = *ão* passant en siamois à *au*. L'inverse, siam. *ão* port. *ão*, est infiniment vraisemblable, car, de même que le siamois ignore les diphtongues à premier élément nasal suivi de *u* (*ũ*) du portugais, de même le portugais ignore les diphtongues de type siamois *ai*. Des faits, trop connus en phonétique pour que j'ai besoin de les rappeler, montrent dès lors combien il est naturel de poser l'équivalence siam :- *ai* port :- *ão*. Le timbre même de la nasale portugaise est un argument de plus en faveur de cette thèse, puisque, dans la série des nasales portugaises, on n'en voit pas qui réponde mieux au *i* (*ĩ*) du siamois que *ã* dans *ão*. C'est vainement que l'on objecterait que le portugais répond à siamois *am*, par *ão* (écrit *am*) dans les exemples sûrs : *Siam*, *Sião*, (สยาม) et *Menam*, *Mendo* (แม่น้ำ), car, à supposer qu'il ne s'agisse pas là d'emprunts graphiques mal interprétés par la suite, siam. *ām* : port. *ão* n'exclut pas siam. *ai* > port. *ão*.[1]

Pour achever l'explication phonétique de *Liam* < เลีย, il nous reste à rendre compte de la chute de *y* intervocalique, puisque port. *Liam* = *lião*, non *liyão*.

Mais le portugais du XVIème siècle avait l'hiatus, comme le

(1) Comparez, entre autres, *Xatigam-Chittagong*, c'est-à-dire quelque chose comme *tchittagon*. Mais il ne s'agit pas là d'un emprunt au siamois.

portugais moderne, dans des mots exactement comparables à Liau, tels que *liâo (leão)* " lion ", *real* " royal, réal ", *pior* " pire ", etc... (v. les observations, de M. J. J. Nunes, *Compêndio de Gramática Histórica Portuguêsa*, pp. 71-72, Nos. 31 et 32).

Il est d'autant plus licite d'invoquer *liâo (leão)* " lion " que, au cours de l'histoire, le nom du cap Liam a été interprété par *cap du Lion*. C'est en effet ainsi que La Loubère, sur la carte qui est en tête de l'ouvrage déjà cité, appelle le cap Liam.

Il se peut que l'interprétation soit de l'érudit La Loubère lui-même. C'est un point que je n'ai pas examiné sérieusement, faute de pouvoir suivre les anciens documents d'assez près.

Mais, évidemment, rien n'est plus naturel que de poser cette étymologie quand on a pour toutes données le nom même du cap Liam et de vagues analogies. Elle devait être proposée un jour ou l'autre, et de bonne heure les marins portugais eux-mêmes ont dû commettre cette erreur d'interprétation, dès qu'ils ont oublié le rapport entre le nom du cap Liam et le nom de Liam, la ville.

Liant, le cap Liant, avec un *t*, de nos cartes modernes, s'explique sans peine maintenant.

Longtemps, les cartographes ont écrit correctement Liam, et pour le cap Liant et pour [illegible], jusqu'au jour où un graveur distrait a pris le dernier jambage de l'*m* pour un *t* final, faute très facile à commettre si, dans l'original, le *t* final ne dépassait pas le corps des lettres basses, comme dans certaines écritures des XVIIème et XVIIIème siècles. Je ne sais qui a commis la faute pour la première fois. En tout cas, elle a fait fortune, et elle a fini par éliminer la vieille forme.

Une carte de Robert, 1751, reproduite dans Fournereau, *op. cit.* pl. I, XIV, donne *C. Liam* pour le cap, mais *Liant* pour la ville.

Gueudeville, 1713-1719, ne nomme pas le cap, mais il appelle la ville *Liau*, et Danville, en 1755, ne donne pas le nom de la ville, mais il a déjà *C. Liant*. Enfin, La Harpe (v. en dernier lieu : *Un*

Empire Colonial Français, L'Indochine, Paris, 1929, I, p. 157) nomme *Liant* et le cap et la ville, et il a une *rivière de Liant*.

Plus tard, enfin, Liant, comme nom de ville, a disparu, remplacé par Rājong. C'est l'état de la plupart des cartes modernes, reproduit sur le croquis qui accompagne cette note.

Cette histoire est instructive. Au début, des marins portugais venus à Ajuthia ont appris tant bien que mal à situer sur des cartes grossières quelques localités. A côté d'autres, dont l'histoire est plus obscure, ils ont noté Rājong qu'ils prononçaient Liam. Puis avec le temps, après de nouvelles navigations menées au moyen des vieilles cartes, les côtes, d'abord imprécises, ont été dessinées avec plus d'exactitude. Les pilotes ont appris la position de certains points d'atterrissage, parmi lesquels l'un très important,[1] qu'il leur fallait presque toujours reconnaître quand ils cherchaient la barre du Ménam, était constitué par ce promontoire entouré d'îlots qui, sur les vieilles cartes, n'avait point encore reçu de nom, mais se trouvait

(1) Cf. H. Warington Smyth, *Five Years in Siam, from 1891 to 1896*, London, 1898, I, p.1: "The first land made by vessels bound to Bangkok is that of Cape Liant, known to the Siamese as Lem Sa Messn (sic), and the islands off it form an akward landfall in the thick weather of the south-west monsoon. Here the Siamese Government have built a much required light-house. It is the second important light in the gulf, the other being the melancholy screwpile sentinel on the bar of the Me Nam Chao Praya."

Voir encore Joseph Conrad, *The Shadow-Line*, ed.Tauchnitz, p. 154 :
" I asked :
" Was there any wind at all this morning ! "

" Can hardly say that, sir. We've moved all the time though. The land ahead seems a little nearer."

That was it. A little nearer. Whereas if we had only had a little more wind, only a very little more, we should have been abreast of Liant by this time and increasing our distance from that contaminated shore."

Il s'agit d'un voilier qui va de Bangkok à Singapoure.

ibid. p. 158: " Faint, hot puffs eddied nervelessly from her sails. And yet she moved. She must have. For, as the sun was setting, we had drawn abreast of Cape Liant and dropped it behind us: an ominous retreating shadow in the last gleams of the twilight."

ibid. p. 162: " Two more days passed. We had advanced a little way—a very little way—into the larger space of the Gulf of Siam."

tout proche du petit port, déjà baptisé, lui, de Liam.[1]

Les pilotes ignoraient à peu près tout de la vie des côtes, des usages propres aux pirates, aux pêcheurs, aux navigateurs locaux, étrangers aux routes de haute mer. Peu leur importait d'ailleurs. Le point d'atterrissage était reconnu. Il fallait bien lui donner un nom, mais un nom quelconque suffisait et l'on avait Liam sous la main. Dès lors, la ville de Liam et le cap du même nom ont figuré côte à côte sur les cartes, le nom du cap posé là, d'après celui de la ville voisine, par de lointains graveurs, sur la foi d'une relation, sur les dires d'un pilote retour des Indes. Cependant l'identité des noms ne changeait rien aux différences profondes des choses qu'ils servaient à nommer. Liam—Rājong était un petit port de rivière, obscur peu connu des gens de mer européens, qui, dans ce pays où le monopole des denrées les plus intéressantes pour le commerce extérieur était entre les mains du Roi, ne fréquentaient guère qu'Ajuthia d'abord, plus tard Bangkok.[2] Qu'importait à un marin comment se nommait Rājong, que ce fût Liam ou autrement. Et le jour où des terriens, des Européens établis dans le pays, les missionnaires

(1) A vol d'oiseau, la distance entre Rājong et le point qui est appelé Cap Liant sur la carte de l'Amirauté britannique 2720, est, si je ne me trompe, de 18 à 20 milles marins.

(2) Sur le commerce de ces parages, au début du XVIIIème siècle, voir Hamilton, *op. cit.* II. 193.

"And now it is Time to steer my Course to the Southward again as far as *Cambodia*. Coastin: along Shore, the first Place we meet with is *Bankasoy*, a Place not frequented by Strangers, tho it produces much Agala and Sapan-woods, and Elephants Teeth; but all are sent to the King, who, for all his gaudy Titles, yet stoops to play the Merchant . .: But *Bankasoy* is famous, chiefly for making *Ballichang*, a Sauce made of dried Shrimps, Cod-pepper, Salt and a Sea-weed or Grass, all well mixed, and beaten up to the Consistency of thick Mustard."

Ibid. II. 195.

"The Coast of *Liampe* and *Chiampo* are the Territories of *Siam*, but for 50 Leagues and more along the Sea shore, there are no Sea-ports, the Country being almost a Desert. It produces good Store of Sapan and Agala-woods, with Gumlack and Sticklack, and many Drugs that I know but little about."

Sur l'organisation du commerce extérieur dans l'ancien Siam, voir S. A. R. le Prince Damrong Rājānubhāb, *Histoire du second règne* (en siamois), pp. 329 sqq.

par exemple, ont voulu nommer cette bourgade plus exactement parce qu'ils étaient mieux informés, plus méticuleux qu'autrefois, que leurs habitudes linguistiques avaient changé, qu'est-ce que cela pouvait faire à des gens de mer ?

Pour le cap Liant il en allait autrement. D'abord les Européens fixés dans le pays s'y intéressaient peu. Son nom échappait ainsi à leurs entreprises. Et ce n'était pas les gens de mer, intéressés à éviter toute modification de pur luxe, qui allaient y toucher.

Les navigateurs sont des gens qui cherchent leur chemin dans des conditions difficiles. Quand une fois ils connaissent bien un repère, il ne faut plus rien y changer. Tout changement, ne serait-ce que d'un mot, dans une tradition de cette nature une fois ancrée dans l'esprit des gens de mer, entraîne des erreurs de navigation pendant un certain temps, et une erreur de navigation, c'est souvent un bateau qui s'en va par le fond corps et biens.

Les lois et règlements, de par le monde, interdisent à qui que ce soit, même aux propriétaires, de modifier la configuration des amers.

Les mêmes nécessités qui ont déterminé cette législation expliquent peut-être le conservatisme des milieux maritimes en matière de toponomastique des côtes, conservatisme dont l'histoire du cap Liant n'offre qu'un exemple parmi d'autres.

Liam-Rājong et Liam (Liant), le cap, ont mené quelque temps, dans les usages des Européens qui fréquentaient ces mers, des vies parallèles, mais au fond indépendantes, et l'on ne doit pas s'étonner si Liam (Liant), comme nom du cap, c'est-à-dire d'un point d'atterrissage important, survit à Liam nom de la bourgade maritime de Rājong, c'est-à-dire d'un endroit dont il suffit, pour savoir où l'on est, de demander à n'importe qui comment il s'appelle, et dont le nom indigène, par conséquent, n'a pas eu de peine à resurgir.

Cette étude rend compte, je l'espère, de la façon dont l'accident géographique "Cap Liant", tel qu'il est figuré sur les

anciennes cartes, a reçu son nom, comment ce nom a fini par devenir Liant, et comment il s'est maintenu jusqu' à nos jours à la différence de *Liam* comme nom de la ville de [illegible]. Mais, à partir du milieu du XIXème siècle, l'histoire toponomastique du cap Liant est entrée dans une nouvelle phase, à la suite des travaux des hydrographes européens, qui sur leurs cartes ont précisé les tracés et la nomenclature d'une façon beaucoup plus ferme que les géographes antérieurs, lesquels, outre qu'ils se recopiaient les uns les autres, ne donnaient que des tracés sommaires. Je n'ai point compétence pour suivre le détail de ces travaux, mais je voudrais montrer encore quelle est la valeur actuelle de l'expression géographique cap Liant.

Cette valeur est double, comme il arrive bien souvent.

(1) Sur les cartes sommaires, pour le terrien, et même pour le marin quand il ne recherche pas la précision, le cap Liant est le promontoire terminal de la côte orientale de la baie de Bangkok.

Dans ce premier sens, il est évident que le nom ne désigne pas un accident géographique rigoureusement défini, mais il désigne bien quelque chose, une articulation de la côte, le point à partir duquel la baie de Bangkok s'élargit, devient, en quelque sorte, le golfe de Siam, "the larger space of the Gulf of Siam", comme dit Conrad.

(2) Pour le navigateur et l'hydrographe, le cap Liant est le point qui est ainsi désigné par les cartes marines, de l'Amirauté britannique, par exemple, et qui porte un certain feu. Comme le dit le *China Sea Pilot*, (Voir l'Appendice p. 108), (dans ce second sens) "Cape Liant (Lat. 12°35½' N., Long. 100°57' E.) is the South-east extreme of the promontory forming the east point of the entrance of Bangkok bay."

C'est ainsi, avec un grossissement presque comique, que le cap Horn, au sens de l'art. 73, 3 et 4 (ancien) du Code de Procédure civile français, est autre chose que le cap Horn des hydrographes.

Or, c'est de longue date que l'expression géographique Cap Liant a cette double valeur. Nos vieilles cartes sur lesquelles j'ai essayé de bâtir l'histoire de ce nom, peuvent nous induire en erreur. Elles ne nous montrent toutes, avec leur tracé sommaire, que le cap Liant au premier sens. Mais c'était bien le Cap Liant, dans l'autre sens, que les marins, dès les premières navigations sans doute, allaient reconnaître.[1] Une pareille habitude nautique semble toute naturelle quand il s'agit d'un navire venant de Poulo Obi, mais on la comprend moins bien pour les bâtiments venus de Singapoure. Quel besoin d'aller reconnaître ce point d'atterrissage situé à l'écart de la route idéale Singapoure-Bangkok, à plusieurs milles dans l'Est, alors que, semble-t-il, on a d'autres points d'atterrissage plus commodes ?

Les navigations des Détroits à Bangkok, au temps de la marine à voile, ne se faisaient guère qu'en mousson de Sud-Ouest. Or, par mousson de Sud-Ouest, la côte orientale de la péninsule malaise est une région de vents faibles. L'abbé de Choisy,[2] à défaut des instructions nautiques, suffirait à nous édifier sur ce point. D'autre part, le centre du golfe de Siam, où l'on trouve plus de vent, est semé de dangers, si bien que les pilotes préféraient gagner un point situé *grosso-modo*, à une quarantaine de milles dans l'Ouest de Pulo Obi et là mettre le cap au nord-nord-ouest en suivant à peu près la même route que les bâtiments venus de Cochinchine.

En d'autres termes, la route idéale des Détroits à Bangkok n'était pas celle des bâtiments à voiles, et, en pratique, tous les bateaux qui venaient des détroits, pénétraient dans la baie de Bangkok par le Sud-Est. Par conséquent, c'est sur le cap Liant qu'ils atterrissaient.

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(1) Remarquons qu'à l'époque où nous nous plaçons, ces passages étaient sans feux. L'atterrissage devait se faire de jour, en règle générale.

(2) *Journal du Voyage de Siam. . . .*, Paris, M. DC. LXXXVII., pp. 170 et suiv: du 4 septembre au 23. Mais il faut surtout renvoyer, parmi les voyageurs de ce temps, à La Loubère, *op cit*, II, p. 80 et suiv., en particulier, p. 83.

Si nous supposons maintenant un vaisseau marchant *Sud-Ouest-Nord-Est*, et cherchant la côte orientale de la baie de Bangkok, un tel vaisseau, par prudence, allait encore atterrir sur le Cap Liant.

Il y avait grand intérêt. S'il cherchait un atterrissage au Nord-Ouest du Cap Liant, une faible dérive de quelques degrés vers le Nord le jetait sur les parages malsains, semés de ces roches presque submergées, qui bordent à quelque distance la partie méridionale de la côte est de la baie de Bangkok. Au contraire, s'il cherchait à reconnaître le cap Liant, situé à l'articulation de deux côtes saines, il échappait, même avec une assez forte dérive vers le Nord, au Rocher Blanc et autres dangers.

Toutes bonnes raisons pour que le nom de cap Liant, de fort bonne heure, ait eu pour les gens de mer un sens assez étroit, assez précis, beaucoup mieux délimité que son sens banal dans l'usage de nos cartes courantes.

Au sens nautique, en somme, et sans doute de très bonne heure, le cap Liant c'était le Cap Liant que nous trouvons sur *Admiralty Chart* 2720, plus [illegible], qui, d'un peu loin, se confond avec lui.

Si l'on voulait prévoir l'avenir de ce nom, au passé compliqué, on pourrait dire sans doute qu'au sens large, pendant bien longtemps encore, le nom de Liant se maintiendra sur nos cartes courantes à l'exclusion de tout autre. Il répond à une nécessité et le nom local ne saurait le remplacer d'une manière adéquate. Sur les cartes marines, il est vrai ce nom subit déjà la compagnie du nom indigène. Mais cela ne lui présage nullement une fin prochaine, même par nos temps d'instructions nautiques beaucoup plus rigoureuses qu'autrefois, en matière de nomenclature comme pour le reste. Pour des marins européens, pour ceux du moins qui ne cabotent pas depuis des années dans les parages du Cap Liant, le nom de *Lem Sahemsan*, dénué du reste de toute existence en siamois, ne sera pendant longtemps encore qu'une curiosité.

Je voudrais en terminant exprimer tous mes remerciements au Capitaine Hébert, commandant le vapeur Paul Beau, à qui je dois d'utiles renseignements. Si je n'ai pas su les interpréter comme il faut, la responsabilité en incombe à moi seul.

APPENDICE.

The China Sea Pilot, 1st ed., London, 1912, vol. III, p. 180:

"Routes between Saigon and Bangkok.—.....South-west monsoon.—From off Cambodia point, the route is westward of all the real and reported dangers in the fairway of the Gulf of Siam until in lat. about 10° 40' N.; a certain amount of shelter is afforded by hearing towards the Malay side of the gulf. From westward of the Koik bank a course may be steered direct for Koh Leum, *passing within sight of Koh Chuen light* (c'est moi qui souligne), thence direct to Bangkok bar.

North-east monsoon.—From off Cambodia point steer north-westward between the Panjang group and the islands southward of Koh Trun, thence passing a few miles westward of Koh Rong and Koh Samit. From thence a vessel may proceed westward of Kusrovie rocks, shaping course to pass westward of the reported Victory shoal for Koh Chuen light, or may proceed northward along the coast, westward of Koh Kut and Koh Chang, and thence northward of Fassama and Victory shoals, or southward of these dangers *for Koh Chuen light*,, rounding it (même remarque que plus haut) and proceeding northward to Koh Luen and thence to Bangkok, as before; the whole route is in comparatively smooth water."

Pour la navigation entre Singapoure et le Golfe du Siam par mousson de Sud-Ouest et par mousson de Nord-Est, voir le même ouvrage pp. 41-59, passim.

Pour l'état, en 1912, du Cap Liant, et des parages du Cap Liant *v. ibid.* p. 162-163:

COAST. The bay to the westward of Lem Ya is fringed with a sandy beach to its western extreme, Lem Sahemsan, or Cape Liant, distant 27 miles. Nearly midway, at about 1 1/2 miles off-shore, is Koh Sakait with sunken rocks around it, but all lying within the 3-fathoms edge of the bank fronting the coast.

RAYONG. A stream, on which is the town of Rayong, discharges north-eastward of Koh Sakait; its mouth is continually shifting, and its bar is nearly dry at low water. A small white light is exhibited here when the mail steamers call, bi-weekly. The town has about 2,500 inhabitants. The principal products are pepper and gamboge.

About 5 miles westward of Koh Sakait are rocks above water, also within the 3-fathoms contour.

Charts 2720, 2721.

CAPE LIANT or Lem Sahemsan. Cape Liant (Lat. 12° 35½' N., Long. 100° 57' E.) is the South-east extreme of the promontory forming the east point of the entrance of Pangkok bay.

Light. On the South-east extreme of Cape Liant, a fixed white light is exhibited occasionally, visible at the distance of 6 miles in clear weather.

On approaching Cape Liant from the southward, the islands Chuen and Me-san off it, being the highest land in the neighborhood, will be first seen.

Hin Chalan, the outermost island, will not be observed until it is within the distance of 5 miles; it is a white rock, 40 feet high, and steep-to.

The channel between Hin Chalan and Chuen is 2 1/2 miles wide, with deep water. The channel between Chuen and Me-san is a mile in width, and deep; Sail rock, 45 feet high, lies in its western approach and Koh Ronkou, 118 feet high, at its eastern end. There are no dangers shown on the chart.

Chong Me-san, the channel between Cape Liant and Koh Riat, is only a quarter of a mile wide, but is much used by coasting craft, and has apparently a depth of 4 fathoms. During springs the tidal stream runs with considerable velocity through it, so that it should never be attempted by a sailing vessel without a fair and commanding breeze.

Buoy. A spit, with about 10 feet at low water near its extreme, extends one mile north-westward of Koh Me-san, forming the south side of the entrance from the westward. A spit extends north-eastward of Koh Riat, south side of the eastern entrance; it is marked by a buoy, not to be depended on; the channel is northward of it.

On the north side are the shoals extending southward of Koh Pra and Koh Yoh Nok, as charted; the mainland is bordered by shallow water to a short distance beyond the points of the bays. North-eastward of Cape Liant is a reef which dries at times; position not given.

Light. Koh Chuen (Lat. 12° 31′ N., Long. 100° 56′ E.)

From Phahurat Lighthouse painted white on the summit of Koh Chuen, is exhibited, at an elevation of 466 feet above high water, a group flashing white light with a period of twenty seconds, showing thus:—flash, one-and-a-half seconds; eclipse, three seconds; flash, one-and-a-half seconds; eclipse, fourteen seconds. It is visible in clear weather from a distance of 29 miles.

A sector of fixed red light is shown from the same lighthouse over Hin Chalan, to the southward.

Chart 2720, Koh Ta Kut to Cape Liant.

Sheltered bay lies between the point situated 3 miles northward of Cape Liant and Lem Putan; it is about 4 miles wide, with good anchorage in about 3 fathoms water, sheltered by several islands fronting its entrance, mentioned below and with Koh Pra.

The eastern horn of Sheltered bay may be known by a cone-shaped hill 454 feet in height. Koh Tki lies south-westward of the conical hill; and has a reef extending nearly to the rock above water three quarters of a mile northward of it. A path of 3 3/4 fathoms lies about a mile 255° true of Koh Tki. The best entrance apparently is between Koh Tki and the 3 3/4 fathoms patch, and from thence eastward of Koh Mu, but it is apparently only available for vessels of light draught.

De l'Origine des Echelles Musicales Javano-Balinaises.

CONFERENCE FAITE LE 7 JANVIER 1928 A L'INSTITUT COLONIAL D'AMSTERDAM.

par

J. KUNST.

L'occasion qui m'est offerte de vous faire connaître quelques uns des résultats obtenus au cours de ces dernières années dans le domaine de la musicologie, ne peut être mieux employée devant cet auditoire, qu'à mettre en évidence un exemple unique mais caractéristique, qui montre combien la musicologie comparée peut procurer de données précieuses pour l'histoire de la civilisation en général et pour celle de l'archipel indonésien en particulier.

Ce qui va suivre n'est le fruit de mon propre travail et de mes études que pour une petite partie: l'homme à qui la musicologie et l'histoire de la civilisation doivent la théorie des "quintes soufflées" (Blasquintentheorie) avec ses conséquences si remarquables, est le musicologue berlinois *E.M. von Hornbostel*. Ma part se borne à peu près à ceci que j'ai pu mettre cette théorie à l'épreuve, au moyen de mesurages d'intervalles musicaux, exécutés par ma femme et par moi-même à Java et à Bali, et de certains renseignements recueillis au cours de nos recherches dans ces îles, cela, bien entendu, en étroite collaboration avec M. von Hornbostel. Nous avons ainsi contribué à la découverte d'une certaine phase dans l'évolution des échelles musicales indonésiennes, qui a encore quelque peu élargi la théorie.

Une partie de ce que vous allez entendre ici a déjà été publiée en 1925, sous une forme moins complète, dans le second volume de notre étude *De Toonkunst van Bali*, [1] et un fort bel exposé de la théorie, par M. von Hornbostel lui-même, vient de paraître dans le huitième volume du *Handbuch der Physik* de MM. Geiger et Scheel, (p. 425 et suiv.).

1) Dans le *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land-en Volkenkunde* LXV, pp. 369 et suiv.

Ordinairement, un intervalle musical est représenté par une fraction, qui a pour numérateur le nombre des vibrations de la note la plus haute et pour dénominateur le nombre des vibrations de la note la plus basse. Dans certains cas, cette fraction se laisse réduire. Ainsi on peut représenter l'octave par la fraction 2/1 ; la quinte naturelle par 3/2 ; la quarte naturelle par 4/3 ; ce qui veut dire que la note qui est située à l'extrémité haute de chaque intervalle, a respectivement 2, 3/2 et 4/3 fois plus de vibrations que la note qui est située à l'extrémité basse.

Si, cependant, les nombres de vibrations de deux notes n'ont pas de diviseur commun, le numérateur et le dénominateur restent des nombres peu maniables. En pareil cas, il est souvent difficile de discerner lequel de deux intervalles comparés est le plus grand. Par exemple, on ne voit pas du premier coup que les intervalles 799 et 592 sont équivalents.
634 470

On a donc cherché des méthodes plus simples de représentation. Si l'on tient compte de la structure de la gamme chromatique européenne, il faut certainement préférer à tous les autres systèmes proposés celui des *cents*, employé pour la première fois en 1884 par le physicien anglais Ellis.

Ellis a divisé l'octave en 1200 petits intervalles égaux qu'il a appelés "cents" (C.). Un demi-ton de notre système tempéré vaut donc 100 C., la quinte naturelle 702, la quinte tempérée 700. Pour rendre mon exposé plus simple et plus clair, je me suis servi de ce système si pratique.

Quand, à partir d'une note fondamentale donnée, disons *do*, on se met à construire une série de quintes, on aboutit, comme on le sait, après sept octaves à une note qui, sauf la différence de hauteur, est à peu près la même que la note initiale : le cercle s'est refermé.

Soit :	do	sol	ré	la	mi	si	fa (dièse)
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
do (dièse)	sol (dièse)	ré (dièse)	la (dièse)	mi (dièse)	si (dièse) = do		
8	9	10	11	12			

Cette construction s'appelle le cycle des quintes pythagoricien. Une réduction en *cents* montre clairement que ce cycle ne se referme pas parfaitement. En réalité il s'agit d'une spirale :

$$12 \times 702 = 8424 \text{ C.}$$
$$7 \times 1200 = 8400 \text{ C.}$$

Différence : 24 C.

Cette différence est le comma pythagoricien.

Dans notre gamme tempérée, on l'a éliminée en la répartissant sur les douze quintes du cycle. (C'est à cause de cela que l'accordage du piano est si difficile : chaque quinte doit être diminuée de 2 C.).

Quelques siècles déjà avant Pythagore, les musicologues chinois avaient découvert ce cycle de 12 quintes en se fondant à peu près sur les mêmes expériences. Le système chinois moderne est construit là-dessus. Cependant on peut tirer des vieilles sources littéraires cette conclusion qu'avant la période "pythagoricienne", un autre système était pratiqué, qui était fondé sur les phénomènes musicaux qu'on a observés lorsque l'on souffle dans des internodes de bambou.

On connaît le phénomène des harmoniques. En partant d'un son fondamental *Do* et en le désignant par le numéro 1, on obtient comme première série de 6 sons :

Do	do	sol	do'	mi'	sol'
1	2	3	4	5	6

On peut, par exemple, réaliser ces harmoniques au moyen d'un instrument à vent, et cela en "sursoufflant".[1)]

Si, cependant, le tube embouché est fermé d'un côté, les harmoniques paires ne se produisent pas ; la première harmonique qui se manifeste est la troisième, la quinte de l'octave, c'est-à-dire la douzième du son fondamental.

Or, les vieux théoriciens chinois ont réalisé leur diapason au

1) Je me permets de forger ce mot pour rendre l'idée que l'allemand exprime par le verbe *überblasen*.

moyen d'un segment de bambou, fermé d'un côté par un noeud et dont la longueur était exactement de 230 mm. C'était en même temps la base de leur système métrologique. Ce tube, nommé *houang tchong* (cloche jaune), produit, comme il est facile de le constater, un son fondamental de 732 vibrations et, si on le ferme à un bout, il fait entendre comme première harmonique la quinte de l'octave.

On a pris ensuite un second segment de bambou, auquel on a donné, par des mesures minutieuses, la longueur nécessaire pour que la note produite se trouvât à l'octave inférieure de l'harmonique du *houang tchong* mentionnée ci-dessus, c'est-à-dire que l'on a construit un tube donnant un son plus haut d'une quinte que la note du diapason.

Puis on a fait concorder le son fondamental d'un troisième internode avec le premier son harmonique du second tube (sauf la différence constante d'une octave) et ainsi de suite, jusqu'à ce qu'on aboutît à une note qui, pour l'oreille, fût identique à celle du *houang tchong*, le point de départ. Le retour de la note fondamentale ne se produisait pas,—comme plus tard dans le cycle des quintes, obtenu par division de cordes—après 12 intervalles de quintes, mais seulement après 23. (Voir le cercle central de la planche 1).

Cela tient à ce que les troisièmes harmoniques, tirées d'un tuyau bouché, ne sont pas absolument pures, mais trop petites d'une fraction, c. à d. en moyenne d'un comma pythagoricien, donc de 24 C.[1] Il est vrai que cette différence n'est pas tout à fait constante: à mesure que le tube s'allonge—le diamètre restant le même—la quinte soufflée (Blasquinte) diminue. Mais pour les longueurs dont il est question ici, on peut, sans inconvénient, tabler sur une différence constante de 24 C. La quinte dite "naturelle" mesure 702 C., la quinte "soufflée" doit donc être comptée pour 678 C. Un

1) Voir Von Hornbostel, *Musikalische Tonsysteme* (dans le *Handbuch der Physik* de MM. Geiger et Scheel,* Vol. VIII. p. 425 et suiv.), p. 430/1 § 6.

calcul simple montre que le cycle des quintes soufflées à 23 intervalles se referme plus exactement que le cycle pythagoricien :

$$23 \times 678 = 15594 \text{ C.}$$
$$12 \times 1200 = 15600 \text{ C.}$$

Différence : 6 C.

Cette différence, égale à un quart de comma pythagoricien, peut être négligée sans inconvénient.

Cela posé, le Prof. Von Hornbostel a fait cette très belle découverte, que les gammes de civilisations et de peuples très divers sont dérivées de cet ancien cycle chinois des quintes soufflées. Toutes ces gammes se composent d'une série de notes, ordinairement 5 ou 7, qui se suivent dans ce cycle d'une façon régulière quelconque.

En apprenant ce fait remarquable, on se sentira sans doute enclin à dire : "parfaitement, mais, puisque ce cycle s'est formé d'une façon logique par l'application du phénomène des harmoniques, n'est-il pas possible qu'on ait découvert aussi cette construction ailleurs qu'en Chine et d'une façon indépendante, en d'autres termes, n'est-il pas possible qu'elle ait une origine multiple ?"

Sans doute, cela ne serait pas impossible en soi. Mais, ce qui n'est guère croyable, c'est que non seulement la structure de ces gammes soit fondée partout sur le cycle des quintes soufflées, mais encore que toutes soient parties de la même note fondamentale, celle du *houang tchong* à 732 vibrations ; ce qui revient à dire que, non seulement la structure de l'échelle *relative*, mais aussi la hauteur *absolue* des notes est la même dans tous les cas considérés. Cette circonstance élimine l'hypothèse d'une série de coïncidences : on a certainement affaire ici à des rapports de peuple à peuple. Pour autant que nous le sachions, ces rapports s'appliquent aux échelles musicales de la Chine préhistorique, du Siam, de la Birmanie, du Cambodge, à celles des xylophones africains, des flûtes de Pan des Incas, à celles de certaines tribus mélanésiennes, polynésiennes et brésiliennes actuelles. Et ce sont des rapports de même nature que l'on doit admettre, en

vertu des mêmes arguments, pour expliquer les échelles javano-balinaises, comme nous croyons l'avoir démontré par quelques centaines de mesurages de sons.[1] Il est prouvé que l'influence de la base métrologique chinoise, correspondant au *houang tchong*—230 mm.—s'est exercé ou s'exerce encore, indépendamment parfois des instruments et des échelles musicales, dans un territoire énorme, qui va d'un côté jusqu'à l'Europe et de l'autre jusqu'à l'Amérique du Sud.[2]

On est vraiment étonné de constater que la hauteur absolue des notes dans ces échelles musicales ait pu se conserver au cours de plusieurs milliers d'années. Aussi bien y avait-il à cela une cause puissante: la vertu magique des sons et des mélodies nées de ces sons.

D'après son origine, la musique est de la magie, de l'incantation pure; une chanson n'est pas autre chose qu'une formule magique et, par conséquent, doit être interprétée de façon absolument juste, sous peine de produire un effet contraire à l'effet désiré[3] Ce caractère magique de la musique se fait sentir jusque dans des civilisations avancées. Il suffit de rappeler á ce propos le double sens du mot latin *carmen*.

Le temps me manque pour insister sur ces idées, ce qui d'ailleurs, devant pareil auditoire, serait superflu. Il me suffira de faire remarquer qu'ordinairement l'un des premiers soins d'une dynastie chinoise à ses débuts est de fixer à nouveau, minutieuse-

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1) *De Toonkunst van Bali* II, Planches I—V et VIII—XIX.

2) Von Hornbostel, *Ueber einige Panpfeifen aus Nordwest-brasilien.* (dans Th. Koch Grunberg, *Zwei Jahre unter den Indianern*), 1910; id., *Ueber ein akustisches Kriterium für Kulturzusammenhänge* (dans le *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1911, p. 601 sqq.);

id., Un exposé sommaire de la théorie des quintes soufflées, (dans *Anthropos* Vol XIV/XV, p. 569-570), 1919/20;

Id., Un article traitant de la norme metrique dans le *Pater Schmidt-Festschrift*, qui va paraître sous peu.

Paru depuis lors sous le titre *"Die Massnorm als kulturgeschichtliches Forschungsmittel."*

3) Jules Combarieu, *Histoire de la Musique*, vol I, p. 8.

ment, la longueur exacte du tube *houang tchong*, afin qu'à l'avenir la musique puisse servir au salut de la dynastie et qu'elle ne cause pas sa perte, comme elle a causé celle de la dynastie précédente.[1]— Chaque année, pendant des cérémonies rituelles les indigènes de l'île Bougainville, en Mélanésie, règlent les nouvelles flûtes sur les flûtes de Pan sacrées qui sont dans la possession de leurs chefs.[2]—A Java, pays qui jouit d'une civilisation si vieille et si raffinée, l'intonation de certains *gamelans* est encore préférée à celle des autres : par exemple l'intonation du très ancien *gamelan slĕndro Lèjèm*, que possède le Régent de Tasikmalaïa,[3] et celle d'un des deux *gamelans mounggang* tritoniques du Soesoehouman de Sourakrata.[4]

Etant donné le peu de temps qui me reste, je me bornerai à vous donner une esquisse de l'évolution des deux gammes javano-balinaises, en commençant par celle du mode *pélog*, comme on l'appelle à Java. A l'opposé du mode *slĕndro* toujours pentatonique, le *pélog*, dans sa forme complète, comprend sept notes dans une octave.

Afin de vous donner une idée précise de cette évolution, je dois revenir un moment à notre point de départ, le cycle des quintes soufflées. Les Chinois avaient divisé les tons de ce cycle en deux groupes: *yang* et *yin*, la série masculine et la série féminine. La *houang tchong* lui-même, dans sa double fonction de base métrique et de source originale des deux genres, est au-dessus de cette division ; aussi on a évité de réaliser ce ton sacré sur les instruments de musique. La série-yang est formé des quintes impaires ; la série-yin des quintes paires. Pour ces deux séries, M. Von Hornbostel a crée le nom de "Umschichtreihe" (série de tons "alternante"). C'est d'une partie d'une pareille "Umschichtreihe" que le mode pélog est issu. Il est vrai que nos mesurages d'échelles musicales

1) Maurice Courant, *Essai historique sur la musique classique des Chinois* (dans l' *Encyclopédie de la Musique* de Lavignac, tome I, p. 80).

2) Von Hornbostel *Ueber ein akustisches Kriterium für Kulturzusammenhänge*, p. 614.

3) Kunst, *De Toonkunst van Bali* Vol. I, p. 150, annotation.

4) id. *De muziek in den Mangkoenegaran* (dans *Djawa* IV, Fascicule d'hommage au Mangkoe Negara VII), p. 28.

à Java et à Bali n'ont pas fourni de représentants purs de ce stade d'évolution, mais nous avons encore trouvé des échelles musicales à un stade de transition entre cet état primitif et le véritable pélog. (Voir planche II, colonnes 2, 5 et 6). Le fait que ces gammes du type ancien n'ont pas pu se maintenir est dû probablement à ce qu'elles ne pouvaient satisfaire aux besoins d'une mélodie plus développée. Notamment, les intervalles de quinte leur manquent. Elles se composent d'une série d'intervalles de 156 C. (Voir planche II, colonnes 1 et 4). Un calcul simple fait voir qu'en soufflant dans une flûte de Pan à intervalles égaux on ne dispose pas de ces quintes, devenues peu à peu si indispensables (702 C.), et que les intervalles de 624 ($=4 \times 156$) et de 780 (5×156) C. sont incapables de remplacer. En s'appuyant sur les données rassemblées, on peut se représenter le développement de l'échelle pélog de la manière suivante. A un moment donné, le besoin de quintes se sera fait sentir. On les aura obtenues d'abord en se servant à la fois d'un instrument masculin et d'un instrument féminin.

Il n'est pas impossible que le fait que les flûtes de Pan de l'Indochine et de la partie occidentale de Java ne se font entendre que par couples, constitue un vestige de cet usage de jouer sur deux instruments de genres différents, usage qui semble avoir laissé une trace, pour les instruments javanais, dans les noms qui les désignent: la mère (*indoung*) et le fils (*anak*).

Bientôt les musiciens indigènes auront reconnu qu'une pareille méthode était assez compliquée et pouvait être simplifiée. Dans la phase d'évolution qui a suivi et qui s'est maintenue jusqu'ici à Java et à Bali pour plusieurs gamelans—un tel couple instrumental a échangé successivement trois de ses tons. (Voir planche II, colonnes 3, 7 et 8). Ainsi se sont créées des échelles mixtes qui, exprimées en *cents*, ont la structure que voici:

156 156 210 156 156 156 210

En effet, la nouvelle échelle mène au but, c'est-à-dire à la

formation de quintes praticables. Car $(3 \times 156) + 210 = 678$, la quinte soufflée, précisément.

On voit qu'il n'y aurait pas lieu de s'étonner si la racine *log* était identique à la racine *rog* de *sorog*, échanger. L'échelle pélog proprement dite ne paraît qu'après l'échange de quelques tons entre deux échelles "alternantes".

Reportés sur le cycle des quintes soufflées, les 7 tons de cette échelle pélog forment un arc de cercle ininterrompu, comme la planche No. 1 le montre clairement. [1]

La planche No. II donne un résumé sommaire de l'évolution totale de cette échelle.

C'est non seulement le genre *pélog*, c'est aussi l'échelle *sléndro* qui tire son origine d'une série "alternante" de quintes soufflées. Probablement, la forme primitive (le Sléndro A) était composée d'une série régulière, que l'on obtient en éliminant chaque fois deux tons sur trois, par exemple :

I III V VII IX XI XIII XV XVII XIX XXI O II etc.
1 2 3 4 5

Du moins, nous avons trouvé quelques échelles sléndro, qui montrent une forme transitoire entre une pareille échelle et le sléndro moderne (voir colonne 4 de la planche III). Voici encore une indication : quand on range les tons d'un *Gendèr wayang* (sléndro) balinais moderne dans l'ordre où se succèdent les tons de l'échelle sléndro A, les voyelles des noms de notes, comme M. Von Hornbostel l'a remarqué, se succèdent "spectralement" :

ding dèng dang dong doung.

Et cela a son importance chez un peuple qui s'est toujours appliqué à établir un rapport entre la hauteur d'un son et la grandeur corrélative d'un instrument de musique d'une part, et la voyelle du nom de cet instrument de l'autre.

1) La solitude autour de la quinte 0 (le bouang tchong) sur les planches I et IV, semble montrer que l'influence du caractère "tabou" de ce ton créateur, dont il a été question ci-dessus, est encore sensible à Java et à Bali

Cependant, le plus grand nombre de nos mesurages témoigne d'une autre structure, plus jeune, dans laquelle les degrés pairs ou impairs coïncident, comme pour le sléndro A, avec des tons d'une série "alternante", quand on élimine chaque fois deux tons sur trois. Mais les autres degrés ont une hauteur qui les pose précisément à mi-chemin entre ces tons alternants éliminés (Sléndro B; voir colonnes 5, 8 et 11 de la planche III et la plupart des échelles de la planche IV).

La division de ces intervalles en deux parties égales est souvent si exacte, qu'il y a identité absolue (voir la planche IV échelle 3 degré I, 5 IV, 6 II, 7 III, 11 I et III, 12 IV, 13 I, 14 IV, 18 IV, 19 V, 20 V, 38 III, 42 III).

On se demande comment ces anciens musiciens ont pu arriver à une pareille rigueur. Le Prof. Von Hornbostel aussi se le serait sans doute demandé, si, il y a quelques années, à l'Institut psychologique de l'Université berlinoise, il n'avait fait des expériences en collaboration avec M. Otto Abraham, dans le dessein d'évaluer le degré d'exactitude avec lequel on peut, au moyen de l'oreille seule, diviser un intervalle en deux parties égales. Le résultat fut surprenant: pour des intervalles non-employés dans la musique, l'erreur moyenne n'était que de 3,5% de l'intervalle entier; pour les intervalles musicaux en usage—et parmi ceux-ci on doit ranger, lorsqu'il s'agit des créateurs du sléndro, la quinte soufflée—l'exactitude était encore beaucoup plus grande. [1]

Il n'existe donc pas d'objection d'ordre psychologique ou physiologique qui empêche l'adoption d'une hypothèse fondée sur cette division exacte des intervalles. D'ailleurs, nous nous trouvons devant des faits nus, irréfutables: dans plusieurs échelles la coïncidence entre les nombres de vibrations mesurés et la hauteur théorique est si frappante, qu'il ne peut pas être question d'un

1) Von Hornbostel, *Musikalische Tonsysteme* (dans le *Handbuch der Physik* de MM. Geiger et Scheel, Vol. VIII p. 425 «II.) p. 427 § 2.

hasard. (Comparez les colonnes 4 et 5, 7 et 8, 10 et 11 de la planche III et presque toutes les échelles de la planche IV).

Exprimé en cents, ce sléndro B forme une série de tons équigrade de 234 C. A l'origine—quelques séries de touches de gendèr qui ont été exhumées semblent encore montrer des traces de ce stade—le premier degré de l'échelle n'aura pas eu de répercussion dans l'octave; la somme de 5 de ces intervalles-sléndro est trop courte de 30 C. pour remplir l'octave, 6 la dépassent de 204 C.:

$$5 \times 234 \text{ C.} = 1770 \text{ C.} = 1200 - 30 \text{ C.}$$
$$6 \times 234 \text{ C.} = 1404 \text{ C.} = 1200 + 204 \text{ C.}$$

Les échelles sléndro plus jeunes ont remédié à cet inconvénient, en rendant un des degrés plus grand, de sorte qu'on peut représenter l'echelle moderne théorique par:

234 234 234 234 264

Quelquefois on semble avoir eu l'intention de créer une échelle équigrade (5 × 240 C.), mais la plupart des échelles mesurées présentent un degré plus grand que les autres,[1] conformément à l'hypothèse exposée ci-dessus.

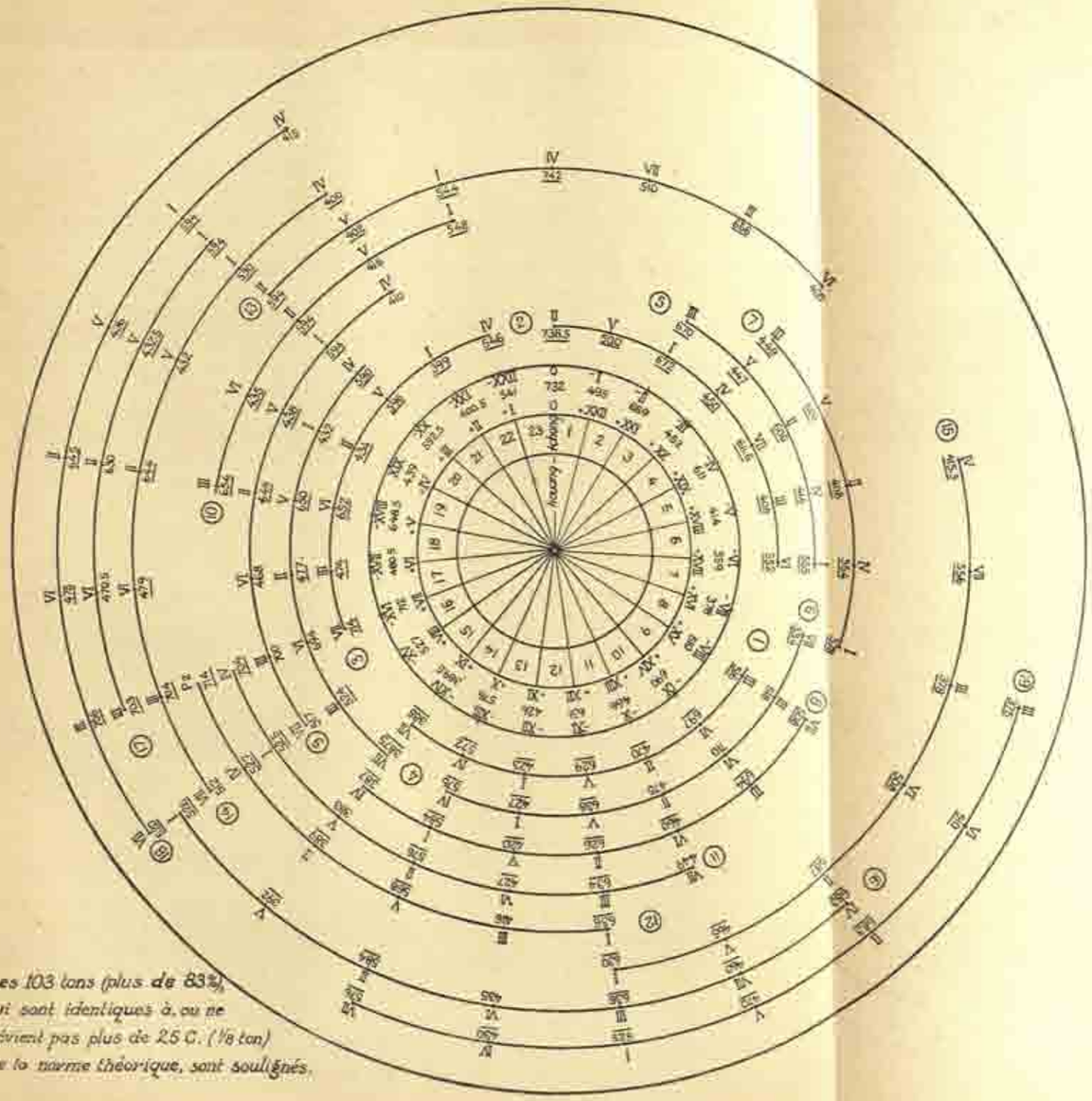
D'ailleurs, le fameux système tonal patet est basé—et le sléndro aussi—sur la position spéciale dans l'échelle des intervalles ayant des dimensions différentes, autrement dit: une échelle équigrade (dont on emploie tous les tons dans une même composition comme toujours en sléndro), est, si je ne me trompe, incompatible avec la pure nature de la mélodie javanaise.

Mais, en m'étendant sur ce sujet, je me perdrais en spéculations sur la théorie musicale javanaise et pour le moment cela me mènerait trop loin. Je ne veux pas non plus répondre à la question de savoir *quand*, *par quelle route* et *comment* les deux genres tonaux sont venus à Java. A l'égard de cette question, je me permets de vous renvoyer au § 13 de notre étude De Toonkunst van Bali, vol. I.

1) Kunst, *De Toonkunst van Bali* Vol. II, tables II, IV et V.

Le peu de temps qui m'a été accordé m'a forcé à m'en tenir à un exposé succinct. Néanmoins, j'espère avoir réussi, en vous donnant un aperçu du développement des échelles pélog et slendro, à vous démontrer l'importance que présente l'étude systématique de la musique de l'archipel malais pour tous ceux qui voudront se rendre compte de l'évolution générale de la civilisation dans les magnifiques îles dont il est composé.

Planche I.



Les 103 tons (plus de 83%) qui sont identiques à, ou ne dévient pas plus de 25 C. (1/8 ton) de la norme théorique, sont soulignés.

EXPLICATION DU GRAPHIQUE DE LA PLANCHE I.

1. Echelle siamoise (Stumpf, *Tonsystem und Musik der Siamesen* p. 137)
2. *Echelle birmane* (Von Hornbostel, *Ueber ein akustisches Kriterium für Kulturzusammenhänge* p. 613).
3. Kjahi Mounggang pélog, Pakoer Alaman, *Djocja* (tab. XIII No. 21). 1)
4. Kjahi Sepouh, kraton de *Solo* (tab. XIII No. 1).
5. Gamelan Gong, Padangtegal (distr. Oubond), *Bali du Sud* (tab. XII No. 8).
6. Demoung hindou-javanais, exhumé à Bodjanegara, res. Rembang (Mus. Bat. Gen. No. 1051a) (tab. XI No. 1).
7. Gamelan Slomading, Kèngetan, *Bali du Sud* (tab. XII No. 13).
8. Gamelan pélog sekati, Katjerbonang, *Cheribon* (tab. XIV No. 15).
9. Gamelan pélog P. B. X (*salonois d'origine*), Pakoer Alaman, Djocja (tab. XIII No. 23).
10. Gamelan Gong du Regent de Gianjar, *Bali du Sud* (tab. XII No. 7).
11. Gamelan Souka rame des Sultans de *Bantam* (Java de l'Ouest), maintenant dans le Musée du Bat. Gen. (tab. XIV No. 2).
12. Gamelan Semar pegoulingan du Pomggawa d'Oubond, *Bali du Sud* (tab. XII No. 17).
13. Gangsa Gambang, Blahbatouh, *Bali du Sud* (tab. VIII No. 6).
14. Gambangs de bambou de Blahbatouh, *Bali du Sud* (appartenants au No. 13) (tab. VIII No. 5).
15. Gambangs de bambou de Batonboulan, *Bali du Sud* (tab. IX No. 4).
16. Gangsa Gambang, Batonboulan, *Bali du Sud* (appartenant au No. 15) (tab. IX No. 6).
17. Gamelan miring du dessa Donkouh (distr. *Tangerang*), res. Batavia (tab. XV No. 6).
18. Gamelan Sekar manis du Régent de *Sommelang* (tab. XIV No. 9).
19. Gamelan Saih pitou de Kostria, Dèn Pasar (Badoung), *Bali du Sud* (tab. XII No. 16).

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1) L'indication des tables se rapporte à celles de notre étude "De Toonkunst van Bali" Vol. II.

Planche II.

La genèse de l'échelle Pélog du cycle des quintes soufflées.

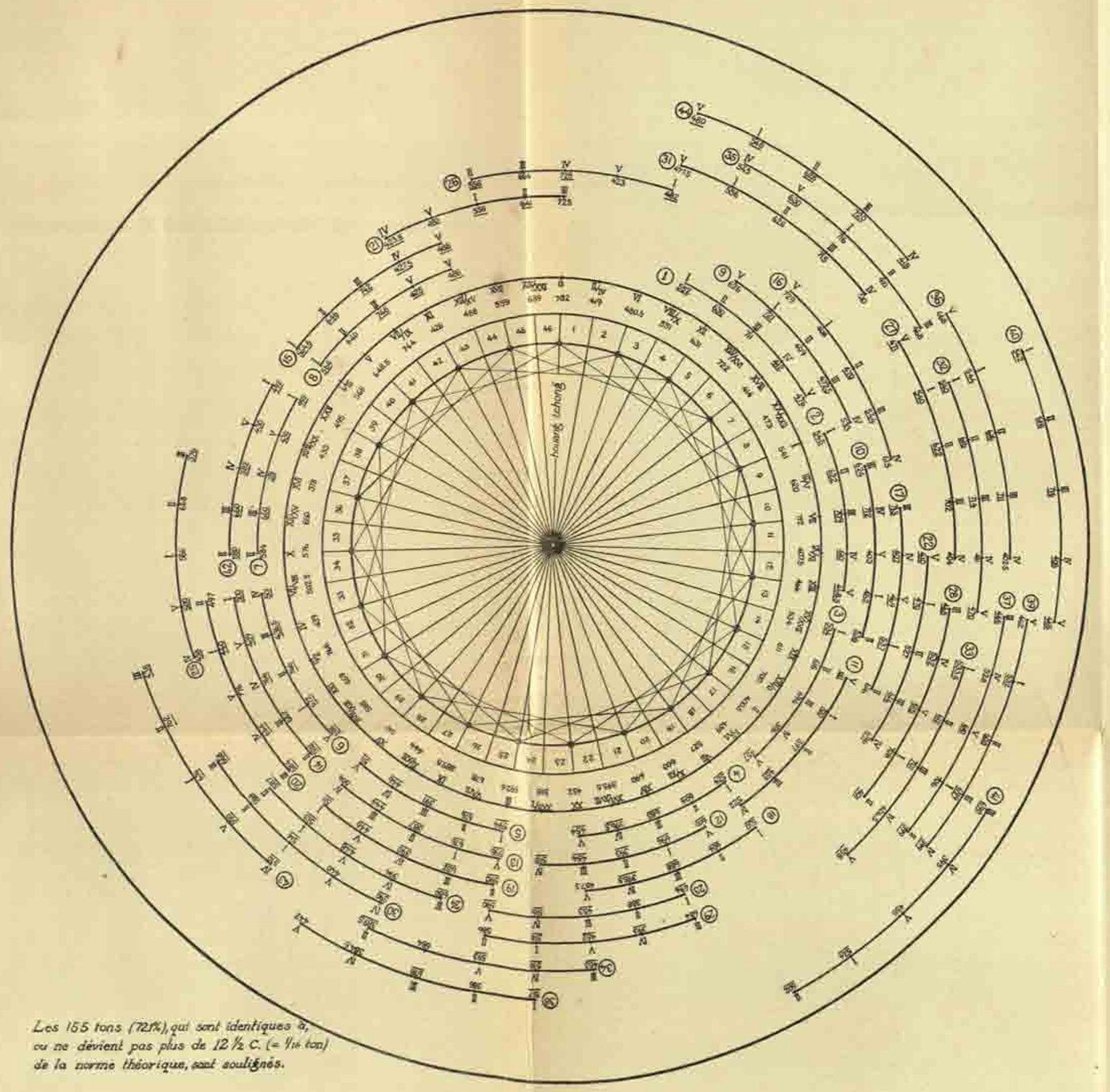
Colonne	Cycle des quintes soufflées.	0 732	I 541	II 400.5	III 592.5	IV 439	V 648.5	VI 480.5	VII 712	VIII 527	IX 389.5	X 576	XI 426	XII 631	XIII 466	XIV 690	XV 510	XVI 378	XVII 559	XVIII 414	XIX 611	XX 452	XXI 669	XXII 495	0 732	I 541
1.	Echelle Yang (Série de tons alternante" masculine).		I 541		III 592.5		V 648.5		VII 712		IX 389.5		XI 426		XIII 466		XV 510		XVII 559		XIX 611		XXI 669			
2.	Echelle Yang en transition. (Gam. Gong, Kèngetan, Bali du Sud).		I 542		II 588		III 645		IV –		V 395		VI 421	III 636	VII –											
3.	La transition achevée. (Gam. Sekati, Katjerbonan Chéribon).				I		II		III		IV 387	I 584	V 420	II 626	VI 460	III 694	VII 508		I		II		III			
4.	Echelle Yin (Série de tons alternante féminine).	0 732		II 400.5		IV 439		VI 480.5		VIII 527		X 576		XII 631		XIV 690		XVI 378		XVIII 414		XX 452		XXII 495		
5.	Echelle Yin en transition. (Gam. Gong, Klouingkoung, Bali du Sud).	IV –		V 397		VI 434	III 644	VII –		I 528		II 582		III												
6.	id. (Gam. pélog, kaloupatèn Soukaboemi).	IV 730		V 395		VI		VII 479.5		I 532		II 579	VI 430	III 635												
7.	La transition achevée. (Gam. Sath pitou, Ksatria, Bali du Sud).					IV		V		VI		VII 576	IV 430	I 625	V 470	II 683	VI 510	III 375		IV		V		VI		
8.	id. (Gam. Gambang, Blahbatouh, Bali du Sud).							V		VI		VII		I 630	V 465	II 687	VI 508	III 378	VII 556	IV 413.5		V		VI		VII

Planche III.

La genèse de l'échelle Sléndro du cycle des quintes soufflées.

Colonne:	Série de tons „alternante du cycle des quintes soufflées.	Moyen. échauf.	Yin →											Yang →										Moyen. échauf.	Yin →	
1.		0 732	II 400.5	IV 439	VI 480.5	VIII 527	X 576	XII 631	XIV 690	XVI 378	XVIII 414	XX 452	XXII 495	I 541	III 592.5	V 648.5	VII 712	IX 389.5	XI 426	XIII 466	XV 510	XVII 559	XIX 611	XXI 669	0 732	II 400.5	IV 439
2.	Série de tons sléndro primaire.		II 400.5			VIII 527			XIV 690			XX 452			III 592.5			IX 389.5			XV 510			XXI 669			
3.	La même série en forme secundaire.		II 400.5	IV/VI 459		VIII 527	X/XII 603		XIV 690	XVI/XVIII 395.5		XX 452	XXII/I 518		III 592.5	V/VII 678		IX 389.5	XI/XIII 446		XV 510	XVII/XIX 585		XXI 669	0/II 766		
4.	Transition de sléndro A à Sléndro B. (Gendèr wajong, Cuboud)								I 694			III 452	IV 516		V 590			II 388			IV						
5.	Sléndro B. (Kj. Pengawé Sari, Pakou-Alaman, Djocja).														I 590	II 678		III 389.5	IV 444		V 511			II			IV
6.	Série de tons sléndro primaire.			IV 439			X 576			XVI 378			XXII 495			V 648.5			XI 426			XVII 559			0 732		
7.	La même série en forme secundaire.	0/II 766		IV 439		VI/VIII 502.5	X 576		XIII/XIV 660	XVI 378		XVIII/XX 433	XXII 495	I/III 566		V 648.5		VII/IX 744	XI 426		XIII/XV 488	XVII 559		XIX/XXI 639	0 732		II/IV 419
8.	Sléndro B. (Lajem, Kaboupaten Tasikmalaja)						II 580		III 660	IV 382		V 430	I 492			III			V								
9.	Série de tons sléndro primaire.	0 732			VI 480.5			XII 631			XVIII 414			I 541			VII 712			XIII 466			XIX 611			II 400.5
10.	La même série en forme secundaire.	0 732	II/IV 419		VI 480.5		VIII/X 551	XII 631		XIV/XVI 722	XVIII 414		XX/XXII 473	I 541	III/V 620		VII 712	IX/XI 407.5	XIII 466		XV/XVII 534	XIX 611		XXI/0 700	II 400.5		
11.	Sléndro B (Gam. du Kanoman, Cheribon).													I 542	II 616		III 716	IV 406	V 465			II			IV		

Planche IV.



Les 155 tons (72%), qui sont identiques à, ou ne dévient pas plus de 12½ C. (= 1/16 ton) de la norme théorique, sont soulignés.

EXPLICATION DU GRAPHIQUE DE LA PLANCHE IV.

1. Kjahi Joudasih (Kepatihan, Djokja) (tab. IV, No. 7)[1].
2. Gam. slendro P. B. X. (Pakou Alaman, Djokja) (tab. IV No. 17).
3. Gendèr Mus. Bat. Gen. Cat. No. 1051*b* (tab. I No. 2).
4. Kjahi Madarsih (Kraton, Djokja) (tab. IV No. 9).
5. Gendèr Mus. Bat. Gen. Cat. No. 1051 (tab. I No. 1).
6. Gam. Angkloung (Sangsit, Bali du Nord) (tab. III No. 1).
7. Gam. slendro (Kraton, Bandjermasin; maintenant dans le Mus. du Bat. Gen.) (tab. IV No. 18.)
8. Kjahi Manis Rangge (Kraton, Sala) (tab. IV No. 1).
9. Gendèr Wayang (Pouri, Ginjar, Bali du Sud) (tab. II No. 4).
10. Kjahi Oudan Asih (Mangkou Negaran, Sala) (tab. IV No. 6).
11. Gendèr Wayang (Pouri, Pliatan, Bali du Sud) (tab. II No. 3).
12. Gendèr Wayang (dess Mas, Bali du Sud) (tab. II No. 8).
13. Gendèr Wayang (Singaradja, Bali du Nord) (tab. II No. 1).
14. Kjahi Kanjout Mesem (Mangkou Negaran, Sala) (tab. IV No. 5).
15. Gam. slendro (Rantjaidjouh, distr. Tangerang, res. Batavia) (tab. V, No. 2)
16. Gendèr Mus. Bat. Gen. Cat. No. 5829*a—j* (tab. I No. 4).
17. Gam slédro (Kousoumadjoudan, Sala) (tab. IV No. 4).
18. Kjahi Pengasih (Kraton, Djokja) (tab. IV No. 10).
19. Kjahi Pengawa Sari (Pakou Alaman, Djokja) (tab. IV No. 16).
20. Kjahi Manggang (Pakou Alaman, Djokja) (tab. IV No. 15).
21. Kjahi Marikangen (Kraton, Djokja) (tab. IV No. 12).
22. Gendèr Mus. Bat. Gen. Cat. No. 1051*c*—(tab. I No. 3).
23. Gendèr Wayang (Pouri, Ouboud, Bali du Sud) (tab. II No. 7).
24. Gendèr du Kjahi Oudan Kiris (Mangkou Negaran, Sala) (tab. I. No. 5).
25. Gam. slendro (Kasepoulan, Cheribon) (tab. V. No. 9).
26. Kjahi Laras Ati (Kraton, Djokja) (tab. IV No. 2.)
27. Gam. slendro (Kaboupaten, Bandoung) (tab. V No. 3).
28. Gendèr Wayang (Pouri, Ouboud, Bali du Sud) (tab. II No. 5).
29. Gam. slendro de 1907 (Kraton, Djokja) (tab. IV No. 13).
30. Gendèr appartenant à un des Gam. Kodok Ngorek (Kraton, Sala) (tab. IV. No. 3.)
31. Kjahi Sourak (Kraton, Djokja) (tab. IV. No. 11).
32. Gam. slendro monté par Ellis (tab. IV No. 19).
33. Gam. slendro (dess Serdangkoulon, distr. Tangerang, res. Batavia) (tab. V, No. 1).
34. Gendèr Wayang (Sangsit, Bali du Nord) (tab. II No. 2).
35. Gendèr Wayang (Batoubolan, Bali du Sud) (tab. II No. 9)
36. Kjahi Ardja Negara (Kraton, Djokja) (tab. IV No. 8).
37. Gendèr Wayang (Pouri, Ouboud, Bali du Sud) (tab. II No. 6
38. Gam. slendro (Kaboupaten, Tjiandjour) (tab. V. No. 7).
39. Gam. slendro (Djajadipouran, Djokja) (tab. IV No. 14).
40. Gam. slendro (Kanoman, Cheribon) (tab. V No. 10).
41. Gam. slendro (Kaboupaten, Cheribon) (tab. V No. 8).
42. Gam. slendro Lajen (Kaboupaten, Tasikmalaia) (tab. V No. 4)
43. Gam. Djembloung (Kalidjering, res. Banjoumas).
44. Gam. slendro (Kaboupaten, Pasoeroean).

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1) L'indication des tables se rapporte à celles de notre étude "De Toonkunst van Bali" Vol. II.

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History of Wat Saket. [1]

BY

R. Lingat.

The history of this monastery [2] begins in the year of the foundation of Bangkok as the capital of the kingdom of Siam. It was known at that time as Wat Sa:kē [3] and was, like the majority of the monasteries then in existence on the left bank of the Menam, of only moderate importance both as regards the number of its inmates and the character of its buildings. However, it possessed a bell of a very fine tone, and this was later judged worthy of being transported to the precincts of Wat Phra : Kēo, where it remains to this day.

It is said that in April, 1782, the Sômdêt Chāo Phya Mâhakra : sâtsūk, commander-in-chief of the Siamese armies, who had returned in great haste from Cambodia with his army on the news of the outbreak at Thônburi, stayed at Wat Sa:kē and underwent the lustration rites [4] He afterwards proceeded with great ceremony to the pavilion erected for him in front of Wat Phô [5] and then crossed the river to crush the rebellion.

(1) The following monograph on Wat Sa:ket is the first of a series to be published in this Journal, over M. R. Lingat's signature. These monographs, together with several others, not to be included in this series, will eventually form a book dealing with the more important religious establishments in Bangkok.

(The Editor.)

(2) My chief source is an article written by H. R. H. Prince Damrong and published in หอพระสมุดวชิรญาณ, vol. XIII (B.E. 2468), pp. 185-201.

(3) "Monastery of the tree Sa:kē", or Indian ash-tree, (*combretum quadrangulare Kurzi*).

(4) This is probably a purifying bath, taken by the king on his return from a military expedition; the fact indicates that the commander-in-chief, though not yet invested officially with the supreme authority, already regarded himself as King.

(5) Called at that time Wat Phôtharam (Bodhārāma).

After assuming the supreme power, the new king decided to transfer the capital to the left bank of the Menam. The new capital was laid out on the same lines as Ayuthia. Especially it was to be entirely surrounded by water. To achieve this object a canal was cut along the east side of the town, passing behind Wat Sa:kĕ in a northerly direction to join the Bang Lāmphu canal, which was already in existence. Another canal running eastwards branched off from the first a little to the north of Wat Sa:kĕ, so that the youth of the new capital might indulge, during the flood season, in aquatic sports and the traditional singing contests which had been common in the days of Ayuthia. This was the Mahānāga canal, a name taken from the old capital [1]. Ten thousand Cambodians were impressed to carry out the work.

When the cutting of the canal was finished, the king employed the labour thus available in restoring completely the Bôt of Wat Sa : kĕ. This monastery, which was henceforward under the royal patronage, was now first called by the name it bears to-day i. e. Wat Sa : ket, the Monastery of the lustration (*sra*) of the hair (*keça*), in commemoration of the ceremony which had taken place on the eve of the new king's accession, and to mark the scene of the first step towards the realisation of his new destiny.

The consecration of the new monastery, which lasted seven days, took place in November, 1801, shortly after that of Wat Phō. It was an occasion of great public rejoicing at which the king himself was present in a pavilion constructed on the bank of the Mahānāga canal. All the inhabitants of the monastery were entertained at the expense of the royal treasury. The ordinary people also shared in the largesse lavished on this occasion : " kalpa vṛksa " trees, from whose branches hung berries containing silver coins, were planted : there were displays of fireworks on land and water and gaily decorated crafts, full of singers and musicians,

(1) Mahānāga is the name of a monk of the wat of the Golden Mount (at Ayuthia), who assisted in the defence of the old capital in 1459 by digging the canal which bears his name.

passed two abreast along the canals which surrounded the monastery. These canals had been specially widened for the occasion. The eye-witness from whose account the details of the celebration are known to us has noted that the crackling of the burning sheaves and the joyous tumult of the crowds swept the clouds away, and the moon, appearing under her white parasol, was charmed by such a spectacle and halted in her path to observe it.

The abbot of the monastery, At, bore at that time the little of Phra: Brahmamuni [1]; he was a barien (doctor of theology), born on the 9th of January, 1759. During the second reign he was promoted Phra: Vimaladhamma and then Sŏmdĕt Phra: Vanaratana, a title next in rank to that of Saṅgharāja. As a result of scandals which aroused grave concern as to the state of the Buddhist church, at the request of the king he wrote, in collaboration with the Saṅgharāja Mi, the Ovādānusāsanī, an exhortation to the monks to adhere to their vows. When the death of the Saṅgharāja occurred, the abbot of Wat Saket was by his rank entitled to succeed to that office and he was in fact appointed, in March, 1820, to be abbot of Wat Mahādhātu, the residence of the patriarchs. But he had himself been contaminated by the corruption which the slackness of discipline had fostered throughout the religious communities. His consecration had been at first delayed by a terrible epidemic of cholera: it was decidedly jeopardized by an accusation to which his doubtful behaviour with one of his younger disciples had given ground. Although the charges against him were not substantiated, the enquiry brought to light evidence sufficient to show that, if he did not deserve to be defrocked, at least he was not worthy to occupy any position of eminence. He was suddenly deprived of his rank and transferred to a humble monastery where he ended his days in obscurity. His successor at Wat Saket was another barien, named Don, born on the 6th March, 1762. The new abbot had come from Wat Ham-

(1) In fact he may not have been appointed abbot until some time afterwards.

sa (on the right bank of the Menam) during the first reign and bore the title of Phra: Devamoli. His career was, up to a point, exactly similar to that of his predecessor. Like the latter he was appointed in succession Phra: Brahmamuni, Phra: Vimaladhamma and Sōmdēt Phra: Vanaratana, but he lived eventually to set a worthy crown on his career by attaining to the supreme dignity in March, 1823. He left Wat Saket to go to Wat Mahādhātu (the residence of the Supreme Patriarch since 1793) and lived there until his death in 1842, in his 81st year.

The honours conferred during the second reign on the abbots of Wat Saket show that the monastery was by that time considered to be one of the most important in the kingdom. A further mark of the esteem in which it was held is shown in 1818 on the return of the religious embassy sent three years previously to Ceylon to reopen with the Cinghalese Church the relations which had been interrupted since the fall of Ayuthia. On that occasion Wat Saket was one of the three Bangkok monasteries which received a cutting from the Bodhi tree brought from Anurādhapura [1] by the mission. The young shoot was planted in a small stone-work enclosure in front of the Bōt, where it may still be seen to-day.

The third king of the Bangkok dynasty, Phra: Nāng Klāo (1824-1851), who was a great builder of monasteries could not fail to take an interest in Wat Saket. Almost until the end of his reign the monastery underwent considerable rebuilding and re-decoration and it then put on an appearance closely resembling that which it presents to-day.

The *kuṭis* or dwellings of the monks and the annexes thereto, which were of wood, were entirely rebuilt in brick. The library alone, which dated from the first reign, was considered worthy of preservation in its existing form. This is a small building set on a

(1) The Anuradhapura tree, according to Buddhist tradition, is itself a grafting of the true Bodhi brought from Gaya by Mahendra, the son of Emperor Aśoka.

raised platform of brick-work and constructed of panels of wood which are carved and painted. In the centre is a large cupboard made of lacquered wood whose four sides rise to meet the roof. Within this again are cupboards which hold the sacred texts. The *kuṭis*, which cover a fairly wide area, provide ample accommodation for over 300 monks.

To the north of the *kuṭis* the king caused a Meru to be built for the cremation of princes and high officials. This is a large square structure of brick, open on all four sides, with a space in the centre for the funeral. In addition it has, or had at that time, all the buildings that might be necessary for funeral ceremonies: a pavilion for the King, a hall for prayer, a chamber for the family of the deceased and another for the musicians. There was also a grove planted with poles, with wooden stands for displays of fireworks. It was the best accommodated site for cremations in Bangkok and was the one shown to Count de Beauvoir when he visited the Siamese capital in 1867. During the reign of King Chulalongkorn, this Meru and its spacious annexes were separated from the *kuṭis* by the extension of Sa: Pāthūm road: it appears to have fallen entirely from public favour and is beginning to suffer seriously from this neglect (1).

The Bôt itself was extensively restored and redecorated. The gallery or "cloister" dates from this period, as do the four pairs of chedis set outside. The gallery contains 163 statues of Buddha in a sitting posture, which are set in line along the wall, while four further statues in a standing posture are set one at each corner. The eight pairs of *baddhāsīma* or boundary stones marking the sacred enclosure were placed in small and graceful structures covered with mosaic work.

The Bôt itself was simply restored to its original condition. It is surrounded by a colonnade of square pillars which support the roof.

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(1) One of the last noteworthy cremations which took place at the Meru of Wat Sa'ket was that of Dr. Masao, the Japanese legal adviser.

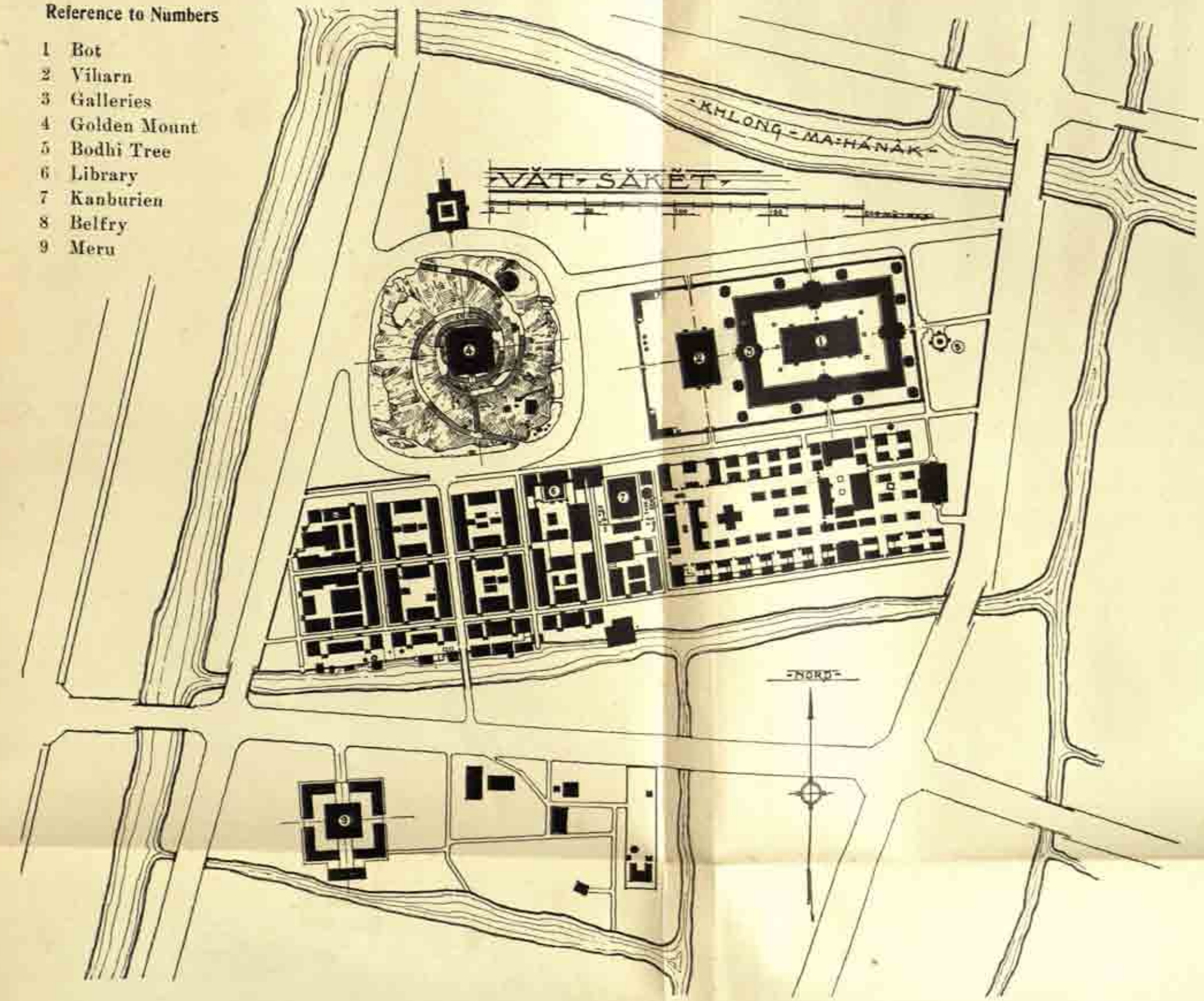
The pediments bear ornaments in stucco or gilded wood representing Vishnu mounted on Garuda. In the interior of the Bot is the great statue of Buddha seated in the attitude known as Samādhi (contemplation) with a statue of a kneeling disciple on either side. All is made of brick and plaster, with a covering of gold leaf, and was no doubt completely restored in the third reign. The beautiful paintings which decorate the walls are of the same period. Those behind the statue of Buddha depict the three worlds: the heavens, the earth and hell; those facing the statue represent the defeat of the armies of Mara and the vision of the goddess Earth. All these paintings are worthy of comparison with the frescoes which decorate the walls of the Bôt of Wat Phra Kēo. The upper half of the side walls is decorated with a triple line of gods at prayer, their faces turned towards the statue of Buddha. The twelve panels placed between the windows represent episodes of the last ten existences of Buddha. Finally the window shutters and the doors bear paintings of divinities and European, Hindu and Chinese warriors dressed in the fashion of the XVIIth century.

Outside the cloister and to the west of the Bôt, King Phra: Nāng Klāo had built a Vihāra in the same style as, but more lofty than the Bôt. The interior of this Vihāra is divided into two chambers, as is the case with the Vihāras round the Bôt of Wat Phô. In the south chamber a statue of gilded bronze, over nine metres in height, representing Buddha "calming the ocean" is set with its back to the dividing partition.

This statue was named Phra: Aṭṭhārasa and came from Wat Vihāra Thong at Pitsanuloke, whence it was probably brought in 1829, at the same time as the Jinasīha Buddha now in the Bôt of Wat Pavaraniveça. Behind this statue is a niche with the figures of the two great disciples of the Buddha, Sariputta and Moggalana, on each side. The other chamber had been intended to receive the Phra: Cāstā, a statue, also from Pitsanuloke, which was at that time in Wat Phra:du at Nōndhāpūri. This scheme was never

Reference to Numbers

1 Bot
2 Viharn
3 Galleries
4 Golden Mount
5 Bodhi Tree
6 Library
7 Kanburien
8 Belfry
9 Meru



carried out and the pedestal built for this famous statue remained for a long time unoccupied. In the fifth reign there was placed on it a bronze statue of Buddha from Wat Dūsit (Tusita), which had been demolished when the Dūsit Palace was built. The statue has on either side a statue of a disciple in a kneeling posture. In the north and south corners of the courtyard of the Vihāra, small buildings were constructed to contain statues of Buddha in rows.

Now, in the angle formed by the *kuṭis* and the main building of the Bôt and the Vihāra, Phra: Nāng Klāo decided to erect a great Prang, which should correspond to the famous steeple of the Golden Mount at Ayuthia at the foot of which flowed the Mahānāga canal and whose mighty ruins still tower above the site of the old capital. This work was entrusted to Phya Crī Vivaḍhana who had carried out the construction of the Meru: he played an important part in the politics of the third and fourth reigns [1]. The base of the structure was a dodecagon, each side being 100 metres long, the outer surface was of brick, while in the centre were heaped earth and blocks of stone. During the construction of the second storey the central mass subsided 18 metres and the brick-surface cracked and broke away. The huge structure was propped up with thousands of wooden beams, but while the repairs were actually in progress a further subsidence of 6 months occurred and on this account the work was abandoned.

In January, 1832, there were festivities in honour of the restoration of Wat Saket and eight other monasteries in the capital which had been reconstructed or were in course of reconstruction at that time. The festivities lasted three days, for the greater part of the time at Wat Phra: Rājaorasa [2], which was held in special veneration by the king. A portion of his ashes was afterwards deposited there.

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(1) He was promoted Sōmdet Chāo Phya Bōromā Mahāsīhtxāiyāt.

(2) On the right bank of the Menam. The reconstruction of this monastery had already been commenced, in the second reign, by the future Phra: Nāng Klāo.

It fell to his successor, King Mongkut, to complete those works which had been left unfinished [1]. The new king was determined to make use of the great heap of material which remained of the Prang begun in the preceding reign. He instructed the same Phya Çrī Vivaḍhana to build it up into an artificial mount, provided with interior passageways and salas and niches holding statues of ascetics or figures of Buddha or small chedis. At the top was built a stupa which was reached by two stairways winding round the slopes of the mound, with a bridge boldly set midway. The structure now justified its name of Golden Mount (Phu Khão Thong), which had been bestowed upon it during the reign of Phra: Nāng Klão in memory of the edifice at Ayuthia. Its official name is Paramaparvata, the Supreme Mountain. It was not until the beginning of the reign of King Chulalongkorn that the work was completed. In course of time the surface of plaster, which gave the Golden Mount the appearance of a great rock, fell away and the Mount was overrun and almost completely covered by vegetation with the exception of the original stairways trodden by the feet of so many of the faithful. The slopes were recently cleared of the bushes and trees which covered them and now the structure is to be restored to the condition in which it was at the beginning of the fifth reign.

The stupa at the top of the Golden Mount is built on a square platform supported by walls, which gives it the appearance of a fort or a monastery in Thibet. The platform is covered by a flat roof resting on the base of the stupa. The faithful have thus an enclosed gallery round which they may walk in meditation. Two doors north and south give access to this gallery. The stupa itself is of the type usual during the fourth reign; there are four entrances, which are normally closed with grilles, situated

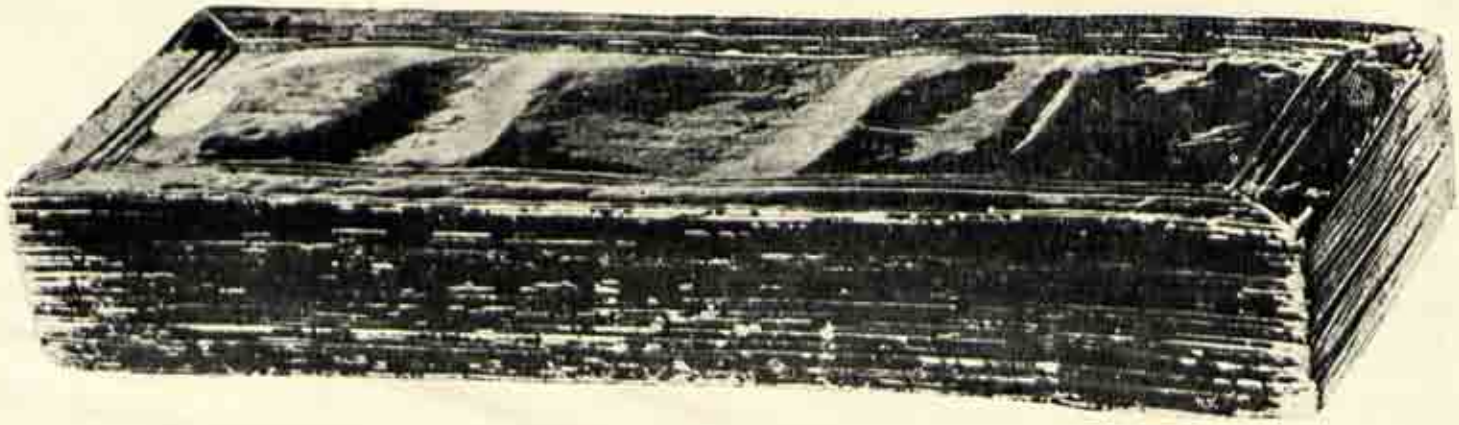
(1) It was not until this time that the gallery which circles the Bōt was completed.

at the four cardinal points and connected one with another by a narrow passageway. In the centre of the stupa is a small gilded chedi with four niches holding diminutive statues of Buddha. This chedi contains a portion of the relics of the Buddha discovered in 1897 under the ruins of the famous stupa of Piprāwā[1], near the frontier of Nepal and not far from the supposed site of Kapilavatthu, the capital of the Sakyas. The discovery of these relics, the authenticity or at least the great antiquity of which is admitted by European authorities, aroused great interest in Buddhist countries and there was a general desire to accord to the relics suitable respect. The British Government decided to offer them to the King of Siam, with the request that they be distributed among the nations which had an interest therein. Phya Sukhuma (now Chāo Phya Yamarāja) was chosen by King Chulalongkorn to go and receive the precious relics and bring them to Bangkok. Delegations from Ceylon, Burma, Japan and Siberia came to share in the distribution. The remainder of the relics were brought in procession to Wat Saket on the 23rd of May, 1899, and deposited in the small chedi of which mention has been made above. Once every year, in the middle of the twelfth month of the lunar calendar (November), the public is admitted to the interior of the stupa. For several days a continual stream of the faithful climb the steps of the Golden Mount to pay their devotion to the relics, while all round the Mount and in the adjoining streets are set up booths, theatres and restaurants which are patronised by a numerous and exuberant crowd. This is the time of the popular Wat Saket fair, which is rivalled in Bangkok only by the fair of Wat Phô and Wat Sămplŭm.

(1) The discussions to which the Piprāwā discoveries gave rise between European authorities on Indian culture were outlined by A. Barth in the number of the Journal des Savants for October, 1906, (Oeuvres d'Auguste Barth, V, 259-273).

During the first reign the monks of Wat Sa:ket were renowned for their knowledge of the mystic rites and were numbered among the Araññavāsi or " forest monks ". It is this reputation and the presence of the precious relics which explain the great popularity which Wat Sa:ket enjoys.

Planche I.



L 16

Inventaire des Manuscrits juridiques siamois

DITS ฉบับ หลวง ET ฉบับ ราชบัณฑิตยสภา ๕ ๕

PAR

J. BURNAY

INTRODUCTION [1]

(1) On sait que la vieille législation siamoise, héritée d'Ayuthya, a été l'objet d'une revision, [2] en CS. 1167—1805 de notre ère—sur l'ordre du premier roi de la dynastie de Bangkok. Cette revision aboutit à l'établissement de manuscrits, ou, plutôt de trois séries de manuscrits, dits ฉบับ หลวง, qui, seuls désormais, en cas de discussion sur la teneur même du texte, devaient faire foi en justice.

(2) Chaque volume, dans les trois collections, porte, comme marque et garantie de son authenticité, trois sceaux, [3] de gauche à droite: ราชสีห์ "ráxasí," คชสีห์ "khôtxasí" et บัวแก้ว "bua kêo," apposés, en rouge, sur la deuxième page, à l'exclusion de toute autre marque ou mention.

Les trois collections, dès leur achèvement, furent confiées chacune à un dépôt différent: une au หอหลวง, une au กรมพระ, une enfin au ศาลหลวงสี่มุม ลูก ๆ.

(3) En dépit de leur importance, la trace s'en perd vers la seconde moitié du XIXème siècle, si bien qu'en 1908 il eût été malaisé, à un juriste curieux, de les retrouver.

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(1) La transcription est partout celle de Pallegoix, sauf dans la partie phonétique, où une précision plus grande est nécessaire. Dans ce passage, les transcriptions sont en italique. Ailleurs, où on les a signalées par de simples guillemets, elles sont dans le même caractère que le contexte. On a écrit partout Ayuthya.

(2) Sur cette revision, et en particulier sur certains problèmes qu'elle pose au point de vue juridique, on lira avec profit: R. Lingat, *Note sur la Revision des Lois Siamoises en 1805*, JSS. XXIII, 1, pp. 19-27.

(3) Cf. R. Lingat, *op. laud.* p. 26, note 1, où l'on trouvera des références utiles, et JSS. XXII, 2, pp. 117 et 121.

Il semble, cependant, que l'édition princeps de Nai Mŏt (นายโหมด ธนาคมกุล, plus tard พระวิสุตโยมนต์, puis พระยาพะยอมฯ) qui date de CS. 1211, 1849 de notre ère, et qui, par l'intermédiaire de Bradley, est à la base de toutes les éditions imprimées depuis, à l'exception d'une seule (JSS. XXII, 2, pp. 117 et suiv.), repose, en dernière analyse, sur les manuscrits officiels de 1805, sans qu'il me soit encore possible de juger si la filiation est immédiate.

(4) Des recherches minutieuses permettraient peut-être de raconter l'histoire de nos collections entre 1805 et 1908. En 1908, en tous cas, une curieuse affaire vint attirer l'attention sur les manuscrits de 1805. [1] Deux volumes aux trois sceaux furent proposés à des amateurs locaux. Ces deux volumes qui n'auraient jamais dû quitter le dépôt où ils étaient enfouis, revinrent à leur légitime possesseur, le Roi, qui les confia à la Bibliothèque Nationale Vajirañāṇa. Il s'agissait du seul manuscrit CS. 1167 que l'on ait encore retrouvé de ลิลิตนิราศ (1 vol.), et d'un manuscrit de ลิลิตยวนพ่าย (1 vol.) [2], tous deux entrés à la Vajirañāṇa le 23 janvier EB. 2451 (AD. 1909).

(5) Depuis lors, la Bibliothèque, avertie par l'incident, somme toute heureux, s'était considérablement enrichie en manuscrits aux trois sceaux, surtout par un apport venu du กระทรวงยุติธรรม, le 31 Mai 1924, lorsque ce ministère, dirigé, à la fin, par le Prince Damrong, a été supprimé.

(6) Dans l'article du *Bangkok Times* (29 janvier 1909) qui relatait la trouvaille de 1908-1909, il est fait allusion à une collection

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(1) Il faut renvoyer aujourd'hui, pour le récit de l'enquête, à la préface que le Prince Damrong a écrite pour les รายงานเรื่อง เรื่องไต่สวนหนังสือหลวง, 1 vol. in.-8, VII-2-49 pp. โรงพิมพ์โสภณพิทยาคม, EB. 2472 (1929).

(2) Depuis la trouvaille du Ministère de la Justice, ลิลิตนิราศ est l'un des textes pour lesquels nous avons les trois copies officielles de CS 1167.

incomplète, conservée au Ministère de la Justice, qui la tenait, disait l'article, du หอสมุด. Il est inutile, ici, d'insister sur le problème des pérégrinations par lesquelles ces manuscrits ont passé avant d'arriver au Ministère de la Justice. Ce que nous savons bien c'est que l'indication de 1909 fut assez vite oubliée, puisqu'il y a quelques mois à peine que, reprenant la question et les recherches, le Prince Damrong a retrouvé au Ministère de la Justice un lot important de manuscrits de CS. 1167, quarante volumes, [1] les mêmes sans doute que signalait le journaliste de 1909, à moins que, depuis, le dépôt ne se soit enrichi ou appauvri.

(7) Compte tenu des trente-neuf qui étaient déjà connus et conservés à la Vajirañāṇa, nous avons maintenant *soixante-dix-neuf* volumes sur les cent vingt-trois qu'ont dû comprendre ensemble les collections de CS. 1167, lorsqu'elles étaient au complet. [2]

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(1) Dans ce nombre il y a des doubles. Il s'agit donc, non pas, comme le disait le journaliste de 1909 (*The Bangkok Times Weekly Mail*, Vol. XII. No. 5, p. 15, col. 2 et 3, sous Friday, January 29, 1909) d'une collection incomplète, mais de deux. D'où cette conclusion, d'abord, que, si le Ministère de la Justice a hérité du หอสมุด, l'héritage lui est parvenu déjà dilapidé, à moins que les pertes ne soient postérieures à la transmission, ce qui n'aurait rien d'invraisemblable. Nous devons d'ailleurs parler de deux héritages, sans qu'il soit possible encore d'assigner tel volume à l'un plutôt qu'à l'autre fond, ni de déterminer les dépôts d'où ils proviennent.

(2) Sur l'état actuel de nos collections, cf. *The Bangkok Times* (18 Juin 1929), *Siam's Ancient Laws. The Missing manuscripts.* La répartition des manuscrits entre les deux fonds, Vajirañāṇa et Ministère de la Justice, a été modifiée depuis.

Le nombre total, cent vingt-trois, est calculé en assignant aux trois collections un même nombre de volumes : quarante-et-un.

Il semble bien, à en juger par les soixante-dix-neuf volumes retrouvés, que la répartition des textes en volumes était la même dans les trois collections.

Or tous les textes qui figurent dans l'édition imprimée de Bradley figurent dans nos collections, à l'exception de ceux, naturellement, qui sont postérieurs à CS. 1169, et, en ce qui concerne les autres, depuis la trouvaille du Ministère de la Justice, qui nous a rendu, ๗๗๗๕, 1167, et ๑๑๒๓๓๖๑๐ ๑๖๘ I, 1167, à l'exception, seulement, de ๑๑๒๓๓๖๑๐ et de ๗๒, qui faisaient

(8) En CS. 1169, ou peut être de CS. 1167 à CS. 1169, les hommes qui avaient établi les trois séries de manuscrits de CS. 1167,

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sûrement partie des collections de CS. 1167, mais qui manquent à la Justice comme ils manquent à la Vajirañāṇa. D'autre part, rien ne nous autorise à penser qu'il y avait dans les collections de CS. 1167 des textes qui ne figurent pas dans Bradley.

Nous pouvons donc admettre que nous avons dès à présent les moyens de reconstituer un exemplaire de CS. 1167, auquel ne manqueraient que กฎมณเฑียร et ทาษ. Dans l'exemplaire dit ฉบับหลวง, CS. 1169, établi par les hommes qui avaient déjà établi les collections de CS. 1167, (v. supra, 8), กฎมณเฑียร et ทาษ occupent chacun un volume identique par les dimensions et l'écriture à un volume moyen de CS. 1167.

D'autre part, les textes représentés dans les deux collections ont subi, dans l'une et dans l'autre, les mêmes découpages, et, de l'une à l'autre, les tomaisons sont homologues. Il n'y a d'exception que pour เบ็ดเสร็จ, complet en un volume dans ฉบับหลวง, et qui, dans ฉบับใหม่, était réparti sur deux minces volumes dont il ne nous reste que le second.

Il est donc licite de compter กฎมณเฑียร et ทาษ pour deux dans le compte des volumes compris dans chacune des trois séries de CS. 1167.

Cela posé nous aboutissons à la liste suivante, (ordre de Bradley sauf en ce qui concerne มูลคดีวิเศษ, cf n°35,2):

	Titres	Nombre de volumes
1	พระธรรมศาสตร์	1
2	อินทรายุธ	1
3	พระธรรมนูญ	1
4	ลักษณวิวาท	1
5	ลักษณ รับ พี่ออ	1
6	กฎมณเฑียร	1
7	ศักดินา พลเรือน	1
8	ศักดินา ทหาร หัวเมือง	1
9	ลักษณโจร	1
10	ลักษณะวิวาท	2

en établirent une quatrième série, peut-être moins soignée que les autres, *secondaire* comme l'indique son nom siamois, [1] en tous cas

11	ลักษณโจร	2
12	ลักษณลักภา (มูลคดีวิวาท)	1
13	ลักษณ ทาษ	1
14	ลักษณ เบ็ดเสร็จ	1
15	ลักษณพยาน	1
16	ลักษณ มฎก	1
17	พระลาย	1
18	อุทธ	1
19	กฎ สาม ลิบ หก ข้อ	1
20	พระราชบัญญัติ	1
21	ลักษณ ลิลูหย์ ต่า น้ำ สุบ เพลิง	1
22	กฎ มณเฑียรบาล	2
23	กฎหมาย พระลาย์	2
24	ลักษณ อาญาหลวง (ลักษณ อาญาหลวง)	2
25	ลักษณ ขบถศึก	2
26	พระราชกำหนด เก่า	5
27	พระราชกำหนด ใหม่	5
		41

(1) Cf. Coedès, *The Vajirañāna National Library*, Bangkok, 1924, p. 22.

Les ฉบับหลวง devaient servir à la vérification du texte en justice, mais non pas à l'établissement de copies. Le ฉบับราษฎร์ était sans doute destiné, au contraire, à être copié. Mais il n'y a pas, pour le moment, à fonder de conclusions critiques là-dessus, car il se peut fort bien que des copistes, et même Nai Mŏt, à l'en croire du moins, se soient servi en fait de l'un des ฉบับหลวง. Les lacunes considérables de ราษฎร์, tel que nous le voyons

dépourvue des trois sceaux. Ce sont les manuscrits ๓ ๓๑ du premier règne. Cette quatrième série est aujourd'hui très incomplète, mais parmi ce qui nous en reste figurent ๓๑.ศ ๑ ๑ et ๓ ๒๖, dont, même après la découverte de juin 1929, nous n'avons aucune copie datée de CS. 1167 *et* marquée des trois sceaux. Fait curieux, le manuscrit de ๓ ๒๖ qui est rangé parmi les manuscrits ๓๓๓๑ et qui, en effet, en porte pas les trois sceaux, est pourtant daté de CS. 1167.

Parmi les dix-sept volumes ๓ ๓๑, quinze proviennent du ๓๑.๓๓ ๒๓๓๓, qui les a remis à la Bibliothèque Nationale le 31 Mai 2467 (1924). Le ๓๓ ๓๓๓๖ et ๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓๓, 5, avaient été achetés le 24 octobre 2454 (1910).

(9) Les collections de CS. 1167, et, subsidiairement, celles de CS. 1169, produits d'une révision des textes d'Ayuthya, sont précieuses doublement, puisqu'elles sont tout l'héritage juridique d'Ayuthya et la base de la législation siamoise depuis CS. 1167 jusqu'à l'époque récente où des réformes et une codification tout autrement inspirées, sont venues abroger, d'une manière au moins implicite, beaucoup de ce qui, dans les anciens textes, avait échappé à de nombreuses abrogations de détail. En dépit de tout, des pans entiers du vieil édifice sont encore debout.

Pour ce qui concerne en particulier la législation d'Ayuthya, nous en sommes réduits, en dehors des collections de CS. 1167-1169, à des indications, naturellement sommaires, dues à des voyageurs européens, La Loubère surtout, à quelques rares manuscrits de Thônburi, à d'autres plus rares encore, qui datent d'Ayuthya, et, peut-être, à un ou deux manuscrits à part, qui, bien que postérieurs à la révision de CS. 1167 et liés à elle, ne s'expliquent pas entièrement par le texte

aujourd'hui, sont peut-être dues à ce fait qu'à raison de sa destination même, ce manuscrit devait sortir du dépôt où il était conservé. Des parties mises à la disposition de copistes moins scrupuleux ou plus négligents que d'autres, n'ont pas été rendues après usage.

de CS. 1167, tel du moins que nous l'ont laissé les reviseurs.[1]

Rien parmi les documents que nous possédons ne peut, par conséquent, rivaliser avec les collections de CS. 1167-1169.

(10) Nos textes n'ont pas seulement une importance juridique. La linguistique, elle aussi, peut y trouver son profit. On ne donnera ici qu'un exemple, mais typique.

(11) Les manuscrits de CS. 1167 présentent une graphie bien incohérente. Un coup d'œil suffit cependant à montrer combien, telle qu'elle est, cette graphie est plus phonétique que celle d'à présent. Les Siamois du XIXème siècle, à commencer par le Roi Mongkut, ont été des étymologistes impénitents, parfois fantaisistes. L'anarchie en matière d'orthographe, malgré l'influence et le talent d'un maître tel que le Phya ศิริธรรมาโหฬาร (น้อย), est restée profonde jusqu'à nos jours.

Des ouvrages tout récents, comme la dernière édition du "Pāthanānukrŏm", dictionnaire publié par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, montrent à quel point la doctrine est mal fixée, puisque, à côté de graphies excellentes กัณฑกาย et บุคคิตมาน, substituées à ขนฺธกาย et บุคฺคลมาน,[2] pour noter *l'aiy*^{a}*kān* et *yutt*^{i}*tham*, le "Pāthanānukrŏm" in-

(1) Ceci est vrai tout au moins pour les manuscrits Vajirañāṇa ๕๑ ๖ et ๕๑ ๗ de ลักษณะอักษร, qui présentent sous ratures deux systèmes de numérotation des articles, différents l'un de l'autre, mais qu'il faut restituer tous les deux sous les surcharges, les corrections et les grattages de notre unique manuscrit CS. 1167 de ปถมก, publié dans le JSS. XXII, 2, p. 117 et suiv., sous sa forme définitive.

(2) Il n'importe aucunement, pour ce qui va suivre, que บุคคิ— soit étymologique en même temps que phonétique, car on ne prononçait pas moins *yutt*^{i} quand on écrivait บุคิ de façon non étymologique et non phonétique. Ce qui importe c'est qu'on ait pu écrire บุคิ ce qui se prononçait *yutt*^{i} ou *yut t*^{i}. Je n'ai pas fait état de บุคิตมาน ci-dessous, mais

troduit ou rétablit le monstre ꩫꩱꩩ, c'est-à-dire : *lālyā*, prononciation pédantesque, à la place de ꩫꩱ, qui notait à peu près correctement *l'' yā ou l'a'yā*, lesquels ont une réalité.

(12) C'est un fait, qui n'a pas semble-t-il été reconnu jusqu'à présent, que le siamois ne tolère pas, en règle générale, les groupes qui présentent, au point de vue de la quantité syllabique, la forme ⏑ ⏑ ⏓. La raison de ce fait s'aperçoit facilement. La première syllabe d'un groupe de trois est en position forte, ou plutôt demi-forte. Elle est soumise, en ce qui concerne sa structure, aux servitudes qui grèvent les syllabes à elles seules unités rythmiques, ou les syllabes situées en fin de groupes. En réalité, une pareille syllabe forme sous-unité rythmique. On a, non pas : ‖ s s s ‖ mais ‖ s ‖ s s ‖. Or la syllabe finale d'un élément rythmique ne peut finir sur une voyelle brève. Le schème formé par une succession de syllabes du type ‖ ⏑ ⏑ — ‖ est donc impossible. On n'a que ‖ — ⏑ — ‖, ou plutôt ‖ — ‖ ⏑ — ‖. (1) C'est du reste une autre règle que, sauf certains effets de phonétique syntaxique, la voyelle de la première syllabe longue d'un groupe tel que celui que nous venons d'étudier, doit être brève, ou peut-être demi-longue, pour être plus rigoureux. Mais peu importe ici.

(13) Il suffira de jeter un coup d'œil sur la première page des textes reproduits ci-dessous, pour tomber sur la forme ꩬꩱꩩꩫ, notation parfaitement correcte de *sak-k''rāt* (2) dont le premier

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la possibilité de l'alternance ꩬꩱꩩꩫ, ꩬꩱꩩ, avec la même valeur, s'explique par les faits qui rendent compte aussi de *rāstra* > ꩫꩱꩬ (*rats''dza*).

(1) En siamois, sauf peut-être certains effets de phonétique syntaxique, il n'y a pas de syllabe à initiale vocalique. L'écriture traduit le fait. Pour l'existence et la notation, en siamois, de l'occlusive glottale sourde, du type de l'initiale de l'allemand *eng*, *cf.* C. B. Bradley, JRAS. *Centenary Supplement*, 1924, p. 16. Le même auteur admet, s'il ne l'a posée, la règle de l'initiale consonantique.

(2) Ou *sak-k''rāt*.

élément repose sur *çaka*. สักกราช (*sak$_1$-k^{a}rāt$_3$*) répond bien au schème quantitatif attendu — ⏑ —, à la différence de ศักราช, qui se translitère *sak$^{(a)}$ rāj*, qui a triomphé, et qui, s'il a jamais eu phonétiquement quelque réalité, n'a sans doute jamais pu être prononcé que par un pédant confirmé. ศักราช, étymologiquement correct, et qui se trouve aussi du reste dans nos manuscrits de CS. 1167, laisse croire à l'existence de la structure quantitative ⏑ ⏑ —.

(14) La règle phonétique qui vient d'être posée et qui explique tant de prononciations siamoises de mots d'emprunt, par exemple *rate^{a}dɔ̄n* < skrt. *rāṣṭra*, *ʔ^{a}yuth^{i}yā* (Ayuthya), et au fond la deuxième longue de *th^{a}wai,wāw^{a}dī* < *dvāravatī*, est illustrée dans nos manuscrits par des centaines d'exemples aussi frappants que ศักราช. La graphie de plus en plus pédantesque des temps qui ont suivi la revision de CS. 1167, étalée dans les éditions imprimées des lois, masque aujourd'hui, dans l'exemple cité et dans bien d'autres cas, des faits de grande importance et dont les manuscrits du commencement du XIX ème siècle, les nôtres en particulier, gardent la trace, bien souvent encore. Il est malheureusement trop vrai que déjà les textes de CS. 1167 eux-mêmes présentent de fâcheuses incohérences et de détestables graphies à côté de notations sincères et par conséquent très utiles à relever. (1)

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(1) Les règles posées au texte sont, sans doute, trop peu nuancées. Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de discuter le détail très compliqué des faits. Je signale seulement que :

(a) La prononciation *se l-k^a-rāt$_3$* existe.

(b) A côté des graphies concurrentes ไอยการ, อัยยการ, อายุการ = *ʔai^{a}kān*, on a constamment : ปร — *(parama-, mara-)* qui, sauf abrègement syntaxique, note *mara-*.

Pallegoix présente des notations qui fourmillent de contradictions apparentes, hautement instructives. Le lecteur a remarqué, sans doute, le bizarre "rāxāsī" du par. 2. de cette introduction, au lieu de "raxāsī", qu'on attendrait si nous avions là une simple translitération. C'est qu'en réalité il faudrait (je ne marque pas les tons) "rat-xā-si." J'incline dès lors à poser "rātxāsī". "rātxasi" serait pareil à "khōtxāsi" qui n'est pas

(15) Les manuscrits des deux collections หลวง et ฉบับหลวง sont d'une fabrication et d'un format pareils. Ils ont à peu près 13 pouces 1/2 × 4 pouces 1/2, 348 mm. × 115 mm. Ce sont tous des สมุดไทยขาว c'est-à-dire des manuscrits en accordéon [1], sur papier blanc et non sur olles. [2] Le plat supérieur de chaque tome, qui sauf erreur du scribe, porte le titre écrit à l'encre d'or et en caractères ขอม [3] et, s'il

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de Pallegoix, il est vrai, (l'édition de 1854 donne "khoxasi"), mais des reviseurs de 1895. Reste le ton à dans "ràxāsĭ", qui fait difficulté s'il faut lire *rāt* —. Il est possible que "ràtxasi" existe, au moins chez certaines personnes ou dans certaines conditions particulières. Mais il faut, à mon sens, admettre aussi "rātxāsĭ" ou plutôt "*sātts*^{a}*sĭ*$_{2}$, avec une première syllabe atone. Peut-être faut-il parler, en réalité, non de la brève de la première syllabe de "*sats*^{a} *ɗɔn*, mais de la "demi longue", ce qui entraînerait *sat-ts*^{a}*sĭ*$_{2}$. Je ne crois pas à *sāt*^{ɔ}*-ts*^{a}*sĭ*$_{2}$ ou *sāt*^{ɔ} *ts*^{a} *ɗɔn* qui auraient été notés et que je n'entends pas. Il y aurait donc en siamois quatre quantités cardinales : la longue, la demi-longue, la brève et l'ultra-brève : *ā, a, ă, ɔ*.

La difficulté essentielle du problème tient à l'enchevêtrement des questions de ton, de quantité, et de structure syllabique.

(1) Les livres siamois, comme dit pittoresquement Mgr. Pallegoix, *Description... ...*, I, p. 399, " sont une espèce de carton plié en zigzag comme les marchands plient leurs pièces de drap."

(2) Pour une description sommaire des manuscrits siamois sur papier, cf. G. Coedès, *The Vajirañāṇa National Library*, Bangkok, 1924, p. 27.

(3) L'expression อักษรขอมไทย se traduit aujourd'hui par "écriture ornementale". Mais le sens étymologique est : "écriture penchée." Nous avons des specimens de l'écriture ขอม, tout semblables à ceux de 1805, qui datent du XVIIème siècle. L'écriture ขอม est celle dont se servait la chancellerie siamoise au temps de ambassades de Louis XIV. M. Coedès en a publié des reproductions dans le JSS. Les écritures épigraphiques du XVIème siècle sont droites et, en tous cas, le ไทย du XVIIème siècle, dont le manuscrit historique dit ปฐมวงศ์ nous fournit un exemple, est une écriture peu penchée. Au XIXème siècle, l'écriture ขอม est supplantée dans la plupart de ses usages anciens par le ไทย. Elle est devenue

y a lieu, la tomaison, est recouvert d'un vernis noir qui lui donne l'aspect de la toile cirée. Il en est de même pour le plat inférieur. Leur seule décoration, à l'un et à l'autre, est constituée par des rempliures formant cadre. Les tranches longues portent un vernis brunâtre. Les tranches courtes sont noircies au moyen d'un enduit apte à recevoir l'écriture, et portent toutes les deux, sous une forme plus brève que le plat, toujours à l'encre d'or et en caractères ขัด, le titre de la loi, et, s'il y a lieu, un numéro de tomaison. La présence de ces indications à cette place s'explique par le fait que les manuscrits étaient et sont encore conservés en piles dans des armoires, et se présentent à qui ouvre l'armoire par l'une de leurs tranches courtes. Jamais on n'a eu recours à un classement vertical, dans des tiroirs, qui pourrait seul remédier au désordre et à l'encombrement que le classement horizontal, si l'on n'y avise, entretiendra indéfiniment.

Les épaisseurs varient d'un volume à l'autre. Le papier, dit กระดาษ ไสย qui, lorsqu'on le gratte donne des déchets floconneux, très légers, présente à l'état vierge, grâce à un enduit approprié, une belle surface de couleur crême, sur laquelle l'écriture, à l'encre de Chine, se détache avec une netteté impeccable.

(16) Dans l'une et l'autre collections, la première page écrite de chaque volume contient, à l'exclusion de toute autre mention : la date où la revision de la copie a été achevée, le nom du copiste, les noms des reviseurs, le tout suivi de la formule ไว (ou ไว้) เทอะ. Nous

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une écriture surtout ornementale. On s'en sert pour écrire des titres sur les livres. C'est le cas de nos manuscrits, et l'usage n'en est pas perdu, même aujourd'hui. On trouve encore le ขัด sur des portes, ainsi au กานฟ่วานฟ้า en face du Vat ศรีเกิด. En même temps que l'écriture ขัด reculait devant le ขัดรึ, le ขัดรึ se penchait de plus en plus, de sorte que l'écriture ขัด a fini par s'opposer non plus aux écritures *droites*, mais aux écritures *non ornementales* comme le sévère ขัดรึ. On a pu parler dès lors des อักษรขัดขัด qui sont des lettres droites, mais comparables par l'usage qui en est fait aux อักษร ไทยน้อย.

reproduisons cette première page à la suite du signalement de chaque volume.

La page suivante, dans les manuscrits וסכ, porte, en rouge, les trois sceaux qui garantissent le caractère de la copie, et dont il a déjà été parlé au début de cette introduction. Dans les manuscrits זסוסר, cette deuxième page est restée blanche.

(17) Dans l'une comme dans l'autre collection, c'est avec la troisième page de chaque volume que commence le texte proprement dit.

Dans chaque volume sans tomaison ou portant la tomaison I, il est de règle qu'avec cette page 3 commence le morceau connu sous le nom de ומוומעוו. [1] Ce morceau occupe, suivant les manuscrits, de onze à quatorze pages.

(18) Supposons le manuscrit déployé. Nous appellerons recto la face de la bande ainsi obtenue qui porte les trois sceaux, ou, s'il s'agit d'un manuscrit זסוסר, la page blanche mentionnée ci-dessus au n° 16. Si l'on place le manuscrit devant soi, de manière qu'il se présente par celle de ses deux tranches courtes qui est située à gauche des lignes d'écriture de la première page, on notera que sur le recto, les pages se suivent de gauche à droite, et sur le verso, de droite à gauche.

La dernière page écrite du recto porte, à l'exclusion de toute autre mention, le mot ההפכו: "tournez", c'est-à-dire: passez au verso. Le lecteur, arrivé à cet endroit, continue simplement à tourner les pages d'avant en arrière.

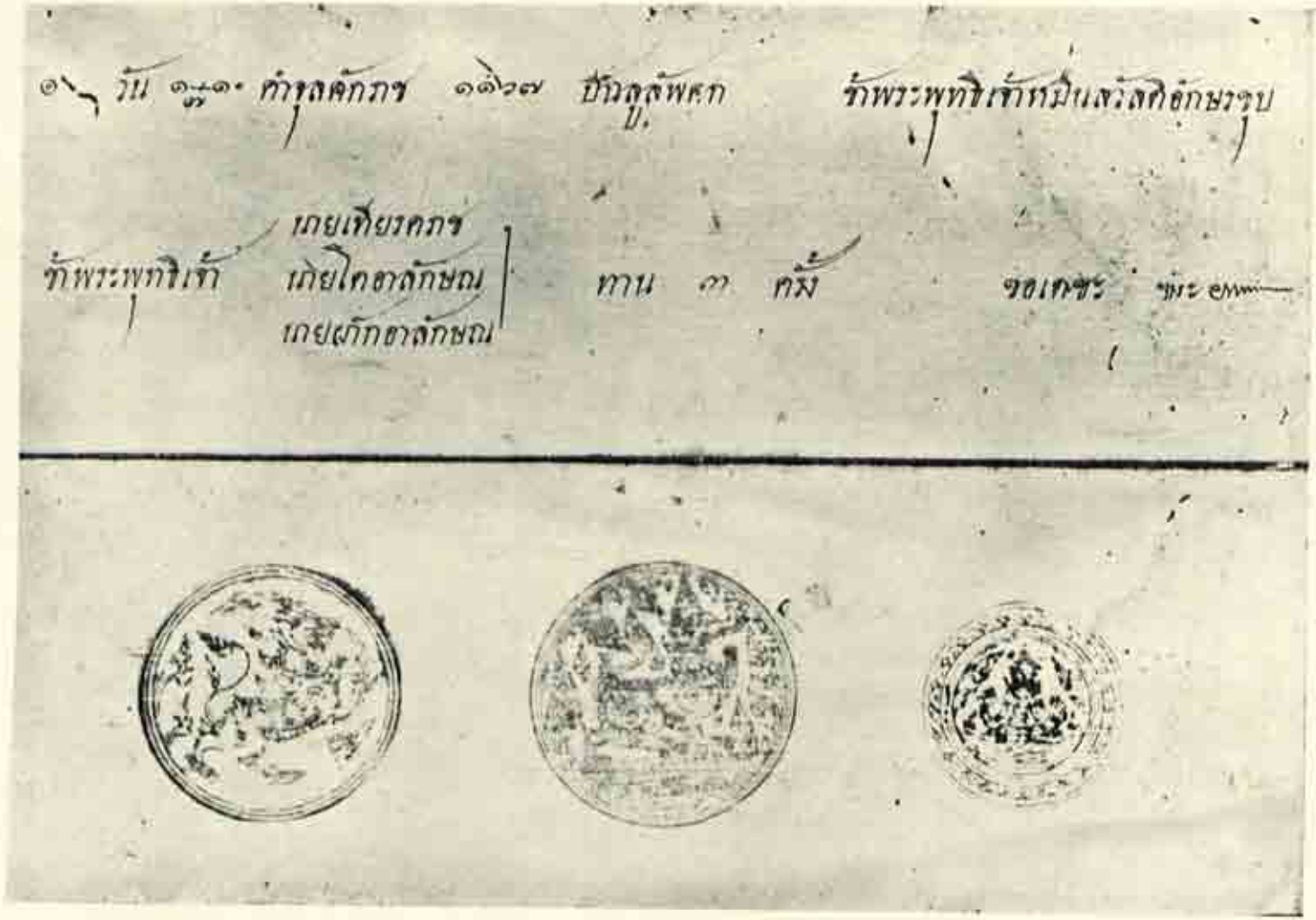
Ces explications sont utiles, car il est a priori probable qu'aux alentours du ההפכו, chaque volume présente des nids à fautes. C'est

(1) Il n'y a d'exception que pour le volume sans tomaison de ומוו ושכ qui contient ו"ו ושכ ושוסר. Il résulte de là que le ומוומעוו se trouve reproduit soixante-seize fois dans nos manuscrits de CS. 1167. Ceux de CS. 1169 en fournissent copies.

Errata

P. 146, note : au lieu de *soixante-seize*, lire *quarante-six* ; au lieu de *fournissent copies*, lire *fournissent neuf copies*.

Planche II.



L. 16, pp. 1 et 2.

pourquoi, dans nos listes, la référence de la page qui porte le กลับ, la ligne terminale de la pénultième page écrite du recto et la ligne initiale de la première page du verso sont constamment données à leur place.

(19) Les pages ne portent aucune numérotation, et la fin du texte, à de très rares exceptions près, n'est signalée par aucune mention analogue à notre mot « Fin ».(1)

(20) On compte en général quatre lignes à la page : cette règle n'est trangressée que pour les tableaux et accolades, et les pages terminales.

(21) Les lignes d'une même paire de pages commencent toutes sur une même perpendiculaire au pli médian, autrement dit, la largeur de la marge gauche est constante pour une même paire de pages. On peut dire aussi qu'elle est à peu près constante d'un bout à l'autre du volume, et même d'un bout à l'autre des deux collections.

Il en est à peu près de même de la marge droite.

(22) En principe, nos scribes, fidèles en cela à un usage suffisamment attesté pour des époques plus anciennes, n'admettent pas les retraits. En tête de ligne, l'application de cette règle ne souffre pas de difficulté. A l'autre bout, elle est à peu près sauvegardée au moyen d'un artifice, que la répartition des mots en groupes rend parfois nécessaire.

(23) On sait, en effet, que l'écriture siamoise connaît une sorte de ponctuation, sans points. Les mots n'y sont pas séparés les uns des autres, mais les pauses qui délimitent certains groupes dans la prononciation, sont marquées dans l'écriture, sans une parfaite cohérence il est vrai, par une interruption de la chaîne écrite. Par exemple, L16 33d se présente sous la forme suivante :

ข้ามน่ำไม้ในหนึ่งนั้น แลหลังข้ามน่ำไม้ก็หนึ่งนั้น ให้เอาไปเผ็น

(1) Cf. L3, x, y.

Les pauses qui suivent l'un et l'autre นั้น dans la prononciation—leur importance grammaticale est grande—sont rendues dans l'écriture par les blancs. Mais, si นั้น se trouve en fin de ligne, (nous ne disons pas *vers* la fin de la ligne), c'est-à-dire, par exemple, si l'on a :

(a) .....ก็หนึ่งนั้น

(b) ให้เขาไปเดิน.....

la fin de la ligne (a) est ambiguë, et une copie faite sur un manuscrit qui présenterait une telle fin de ligne, pourrait si elle ne conservait pas la linéation de l'original, donner la leçon fausse :

(a') .....ก็หนึ่งนั้นให้เขาไปเดิน...

C'est ainsi que dans l'édition diplomatique de L16, publiée dans JSS. XXII, pp. 117 et suivantes, on lit, p. 129 :

(34d) .....แลนา ๆ ก็วิยานั้น

ถ้าได้ชัย (35a)

Le manuscrit porte :

(34d) .....แลนา ๆ ก็วิยานั้น ถ้าได้ชัย (35a)

mais l'édition imprimée autorise la lecture fautive :

(34d) ..... ก็วิยานั้นถ้าได้ชัย (35a)....

Cela posé, quand, vers la fin d'une ligne, apparaît une fin de groupe qui doit être suivie d'un blanc d'après la règle, le scribe prend selon les circonstances l'un des deux partis suivants : ou bien il commence le groupe suivant en fin de ligne, après un blanc normal, à la condition qu'il lui reste assez de place pour écrire encore un certain nombre de lettres, ou bien, s'il juge qu'il n'a pas assez de place, il remet le groupe suivant à la prochaine ligne et, au bout de la ligne courante et du blanc exigé par la grammaire, il pose le signe : , pareil au visarga. Le signe : , sans valeur phonétique, placé en fin de ligne, après un blanc, se trouve alors coïncider avec une "ponctuation," la rend plus explicite si l'on veut, mais, en réalité, il ne sert pas à l'exprimer. Le calligraphe siamois a pour règle de remplir exacte-

ment le cadre de la page. Il ne tolère aucun blanc à la périphérie. S'il ne peut finir la ligne sur de l'écriture, il "bouche le trou" avec un ๆ posé sur le bord interne de la marge.[1] Mais, si un นั้น, un ให้, par exemple, qui, dans le corps de la ligne, devraient être suivis d'un blanc, coïncident avec une fin de ligne, finissent sur le bord de la marge, le scribe laisse non résolue l'ambigüité qui résulte de la coïncidence.

On comprendra, dès lors, que toute édition d'un texte siamois qui ne donne pas la linéation des manuscrits qui ont servi à l'établir présente une lacune grave au point de vue critique.

(24) La rubrication de nos textes n'obéit pas à des règles uniformes. Il convient, à ce point de vue, de mettre à part tout ce qui est préambule et qui n'a pas le caractère d'une disposition, par exemple, les paragraphes qui contiennnent des exposés de motifs. Les autres divisions sont numérotées ou ne le sont pas, elles s'annoncent soit par l'un des mots มาตรา, กฎ ou ข้อ, précédé du signe », ou du signe , soit par l'un de ces signes seulement.

(25) La numérotation peut être continue, comme dans L16 (ลักษณผัวเมีย) d'un bout à l'autre de la loi, ou bien comme dans ลักษณะรับฟ้องว่า (L5) et comme dans L16 avant correction, elle reprend à 1 plusieurs fois au cours de la même loi. Dans ce cas, il arrive généralement que la fin d'une série d'articles est expressément marquée par une formule telle que: (L9 73) « กล่าวลักษณะผู้หนึ่

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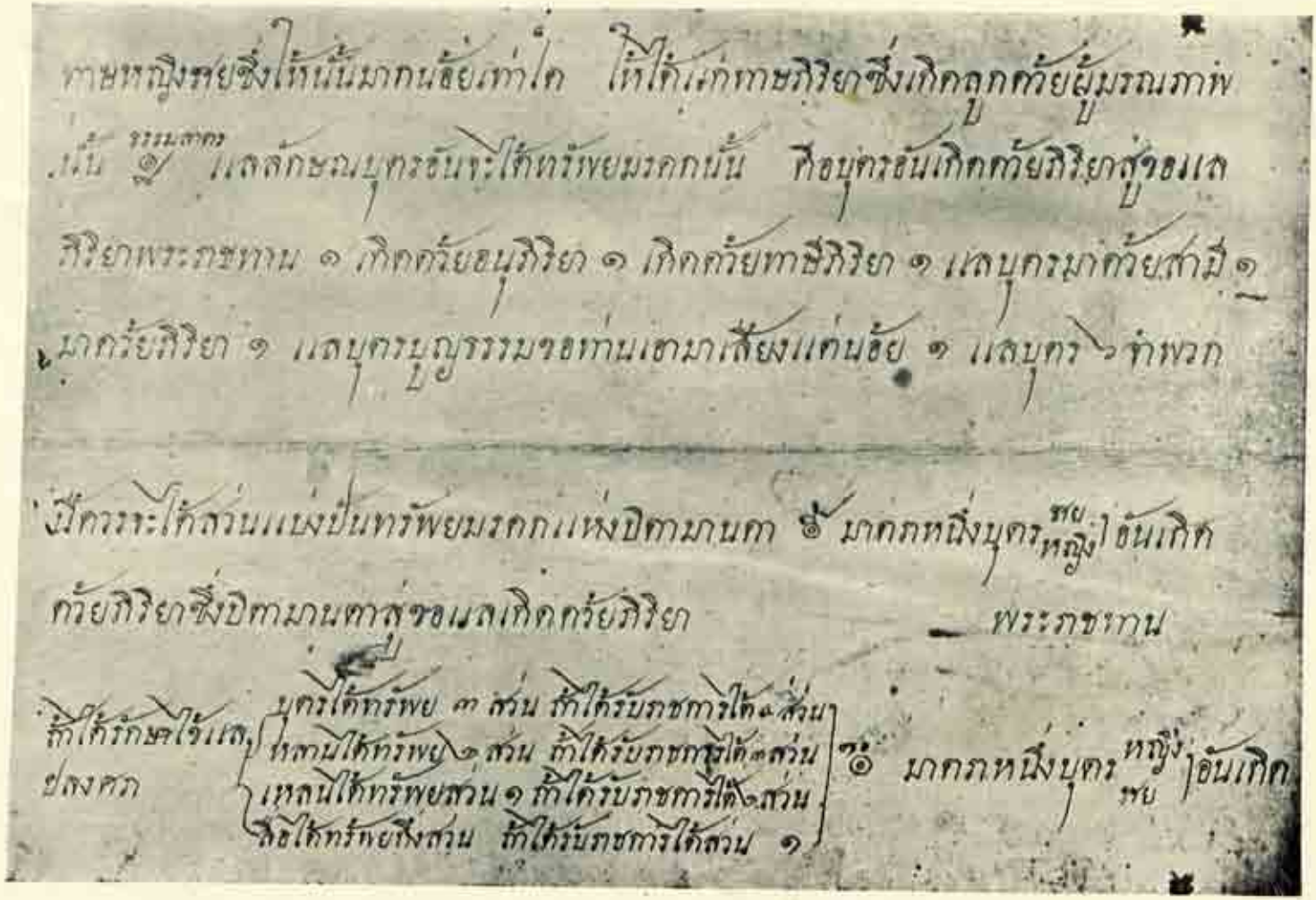
(1) Voici un fait emprunté aux manuscrits พสว du พระธรรมสาตร. En L1, 4c, et L1x, 4c, on a la fin de ligne บุริมบี้ ๆ (4d) เสดจ์ ออก. Or, L1y, 4c, porte: บุริมบี้ เสดจ์ ออก (4d) พระ นั้น (sic).

M. Lingat m'apprend qu'un sondage opéré par lui dans les trois manuscrits พสว de ลิลิต ก็ semble confirmer la théorie exposée au texte, laquelle est fondée sur un ensemble de manuscrits dont ne font point partie les manuscrits étudiés par M. Lingat.

ติกสินกันและเจ้าเมืองนี้ยังมีกติกาอยู่กันได้ ๖ มาตรา ท่านั้น, qui sert de conclusion à une série numérotée 1-6.

Dans plusieurs lois, ลักษณะมรดก, ลักษณะมรดก, ลักษณะอุทธรณ์, par exemple, la numérotation des articles a subi des remaniements considérables, par l'effet soit d'un changement d'origine, soit d'une insertion de numéros à des endroits où il n'y en avait pas tout d'abord. (L16 présente ces deux causes de perturbation à la fois, ainsi que d'autres).

Le "papier" du manuscrit, épais et cartonneux, est formé de couches profondes d'une contexture cotonneuse, recouvertes d'une pellicule. Les trous percés par le grattoir dans cette pellicule présentent des bords nets, de sorte qu'une rature conserve en général la forme très lisible du signe condamné, pourvu, naturellement, que le grattoir en ait suivi les contours, comme c'est la règle. Si une même région porte des grattages superposés, il est bien évident que la forme de la rature définitive ne révèlera que la forme du signe qui aura recouvert la plus grande surface. Il arrive cependant que les ratures se composent, sans s'oblitérer complètement les unes les autres, et que l'on ait, à droite, les contours lisibles encore de la partie droite d'un certain signe, à gauche, ceux de la partie gauche d'un autre signe. Il y a donc des ratures qui ne révèlent qu'un seul signe, le plus encombrant, parce que les signes successifs ont été chaque fois écrits sur la rature précédente en l'occupant tout entière ou même en la débordant, et il y a aussi des ratures qui révèlent plusieurs des signes qui se sont succédé dans la région raturée, sinon tous, parce que tel de ces signes n'a été écrit que pour partie sur la rature précédente et sans la recouvrir toute entière. ๓ écrit sur ๖ pourra facilement fournir un exemple du second cas. Mais un ๔ écrit sur un ๓ donnera, au contraire, un complexe généralement très ambigu qui, sauf conditions spéciales, permettra seulement la conclusion: "ici il y a eu un ๓, un ๔ (ou un ๕)," mais non: "il y a eu tel ou tel d'entre eux, ou deux d'entre eux, ou les trois."



L. 16, pp. 36 et 37.

L'étude des manuscrits ꩻꩫꩭ de ꩬꩫꩮ, ꩵꩶꩬꩵ, ꩻꩫꩭ, fournit de bons exemples des conclusions critiques que l'on peut fonder sur de pareilles observations. Avec l'aide de ces données, on peut d'ores et déjà restituer en partie le travail de correction auquel nos manuscrits ont été soumis, soit en CS. 1167, soit après, et peut-être même restituer des rubrications antérieures à CS. 1167.

(26) Dans le catalogue publié ci-après, pour chaque division du *corpus*, nous donnons sous une rubrique qui est le titre du texte tel qu'il figure dans la table des matières de la dixième impression de Bradley, le signalement bibliographique des manuscrits de CS. 1167 (aux trois sceaux) qui reproduisent ce texte. Dans une deuxième partie, nous donnerons, en nous conformant aux mêmes règles que pour la première, les signalements bibliographiques des manuscrits de CS. 1169 (ꩵꩶꩬ ꩬꩫꩮ ꩻꩫꩭ).

Les signalements seront donnés volume par volume. Ils indiqueront : (1) les titres, celui du plat, ceux des tranches ; (2) le nombre des pages écrites ; (3) le dépôt ; (4) la cote que porte le volume dans le dépôt dont il fait partie ; (5) sa provenance ; (6) la date où il est entré au dépôt actuel.

(27) Pour la commodité des références futures, nous indiquons, à gauche, sur une ligne à part, à la fin de chaque signalement, une formule qui permettra d'exprimer d'une façon brève l'identité de chaque volume.

Le premier élément de cette formule désigne la section à laquelle le volume appartient : L (ꩵꩶꩬꩻꩫꩭ) pour la première, R (ꩵꩶꩬꩬꩫꩮꩻꩫꩭ) pour la seconde. Cette lettre est suivie d'un numéro d'ordre, celui de la loi dans le tableau de la page 138, note.

Le chiffre romain qui suit indique la tomaison, si la loi s'étend sur plusieurs volumes.

(28) Dans les collections ꩻꩫꩭ de CS. 1167, un grand nombre de volumes figurent a deux ou trois exemplaires.

En pareil cas, afin d'avoir un moyen commode, non ambigu et toujours le même, de distinguer les uns des autres les deux ou trois exemplaires d'un même tome, très semblables entre eux en règle générale, on a adopté le procédé suivant.

On a relevé pour chaque volume la ligne qui est la première à présenter une fin différente dans chacun des deux ou trois exemplaires.

Soit, par exemple, les trois exemplaires de มหาเวสสันดรชาดก CS. 1167.

Toutes les lignes, jusqu'à 4d, présentent une fin qui est commune à deux exemplaires au moins. La ligne 4d est la première à présenter une fin différente dans chacun des trois exemplaires.

Nous appellerons :

zéro, celui dont la ligne 4d finit par..... วิชาติยาย

x, celui dont la ligne 4d finit par..... วิชาติยายสุ

y, celui dont la ligne 4d finit par..... วิชาติยายสุวนาค

Le différentiel *zéro* sera donc attribué au manuscrit dont la ligne différentielle présentera une fin située moins avant dans le texte que la fin de la même ligne dans le manuscrit auquel on attribuera le différentiel *x*. On règlera de la même manière l'attribution du différentiel *y*.

L'application de ce critère ne donne naturellement des résultats définitifs que pour les volumes dont on a d'ores et déjà les trois exemplaires.

(29) A la suite de ces indications nous reproduisons, avec sa liméation, la première page du volume. Le contenu en est enfermé dans un cadre toujours pareil, décrit ci-dessus, n° 16.

Sous le titre *Contenu*, nous donnons ensuite : (1) avec les références de la page initiale et de la page terminale de chaque partie, l'indication sommaire du contenu du volume ; (2) la référence de la page qui porte le mot กัณฑ์, précédée de la ligne terminale de l'avant-

dernière page du recto et de la ligne initiale de la première page du verso (cf. n° 18).

Lorsqu'un texte couvre deux ou plusieurs volumes, nous donnons, à l'exception de la ligne initiale du premier et de la ligne terminale du dernier, les lignes initiales et terminales de chaque volume.

(30) Nos signalements enfin sont encore suivis de la reproduction de certains passages importants du manuscrit. Ce sont : (1) ceux qui contiennent des noms propres importants pour l'histoire du texte ; (2) ceux qui contiennent une date ; (3) ceux qui contiennent la mention qu'une série d'articles est close ; (4) ceux qui annoncent le sujet d'articles qui vont suivre ; (5) ceux qui contiennent du pâli. [1] Naturellement ces reproductions deviendront rares une fois la première section dépassée. Dans la seconde elles n'apparaîtront que là où le manuscrit étudié n'a pas son pendant dans la première. La numérotation des articles sera également indiquée, de façon à bien faire apparaître les articulations, non étudiées jusqu'ici, de textes dont l'état actuel est le résultat d'additions et de remaniements successifs, probablement très complexes.

A l'occasion, nous publierons en appendice les rares documents que nous avons pu recueillir sur l'histoire de tel ou tel volume.

(31) L'ordre dans lequel nos manuscrits ont été rangés, les uns à la Vajirañāna en 1924, et les autres au Ministère de la Justice en 1929, est respecté dans nos listes. Il reproduit, purement et simplement, l'ordre de l'édition Bradley, lequel pour les dix-huit premières divisions sûrement, et probablement pour l'ensemble,

(1) Je fais une exception pour les textes pâlis du [illegible]. Les reproduire, c'était donner une édition du [illegible]. Ils se retrouvent, du reste, pour la plupart, dans les lois. Les fragments pâlis dont est farci [illegible] et qui sont fort longs, n'ont pas été reproduits non plus, pour la même raison.

reproduit l'ordre de l'édition princeps de Nai Mŏt (CS. 1211). (1)

Mais, en eux-mêmes, nos manuscrits ne portent aucune indication expresse qui autorise à les ranger dans un ordre plutôt que dans un autre. L'ordre de Nai Mŏt repose donc, soit sur une construction personnelle, soit sur une tradition qu'il a acceptée, en tous cas sur des données indépendantes des manuscrits de CS. 1167-1169.

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(1) Nous n'avons de l'édition princeps de CS. 1211, due à Nai Mŏt, que le premier volume. Le second, qui n'a jamais été publié, a existé. Mais, aujourd'hui, il a complètement disparu. Le premier volume, maintenant unique, autant que nous sachions, comporte, comme celui de Bradley, les dix-huit divisions que voici :

(1)	มหาสมัย	๑
(2)	อินทภาษ	๑๒
(3)	พระมนูญ	๔๗
(4)	วิมล	๘๐
(5)	มัทฬ์	๘๔
(6)	กรมศักดิ์	๑๔
(7)	พลเทียน	๙๐
(8)	นาพลน หัวเมือง	๑๑๔
(9)	ผู้นำ	๑๒๔
(10)	สัญญน ตัว เมือง	๑๖๐
(11)	โจร	๑๗๑
(12)	ลักขา	๑๙๗
(13)	ทาษ	๒๐๖
(14)	เบด เสร็จ	๒๖๗
(15)	พญาน	๒๙๔
(16)	มฤค	๓๐๖
(17)	กระทาน	๓๒๑
(18)	ภูษ	๓๔๗

(32) Le seul indice interne qui nous permette de dire que Bradley et Nai Môt ont pu, parfois au moins, s'écarter de l'ordre de CS. 1167, quel qu'il fût, se trouve en ลักกา. En effet, les manuscrits de CS. 1167 – 1169 qui portent le texte de ลักกา tel qu'il figure dans l'édition de Nai Môt et dans celle de Bradley, le font suivre, sans rubrique spéciale, sans interruption d'aucune sorte, du texte qui ouvre le deuxième volume de Bradley.

Or, dans Bradley, ce deuxième texte qui, là, porte comme titre, à défaut d'un autre, l'incipit มูลคดีวิภค (*จักกล่าวมูลคดีวิภค), se trouve fort loin de ลักกา, dont il est séparé par ทาย, เบ็ดเสร็จ, พยาน ตะลาการ et ฎีกา.

Il semble que nous ayons là un cas de dérangement récent de l'ordre ancien.

(33) Un texte, qui est important pour d'autres raisons encore, ราชพิธี, 13a et suiv., (JSS. XXII, p. 124), nous dit qu'en CS. 1166 le roi ordonna de :

(*a*) จำนวนเวรกำหนดมูลคดีโดยเกณฑ์มีอยู่ในหอหลวง สิ้นแต่คดีธรรมดาสาม (*b*) ไปให้ดูกันตามบาทีแลเนื้อความมีได้ผิดเลี่ยงจำกันได้จัดเปนหมวด (*c*) เปนเหล่าเข้าไว้ในลัทธิพระอุลาทหารจะตัดแปลงสิ่งหาผิมิปลาดนั้น :

Les numéros d'ordre ont été ajoutés par nous, mais, en réalité, Nai Môt, suivant en cela une tradition, ne comptait ฆาตลหิน et ฆาตหาร หินมีอะ que pour une seule division, bien que dans la colonne des pages il ait séparé les deux textes, ce qui contraste avec la disposition typographique de la colonne des titres, où il les a réunis par une accolade. On s'explique dès lors que, malgré les dix-huit divisions de la colonne des pages, Nai Môt ait écrit, à la fin de sa table : ทั้ง สิบเจ็ด นิยะ นี้ ได้ พาน แล้ว ดูก ล้อย กัน กับ ฉะบับ พลาย ดูก เล่ม.

Bradley n'a pas gardé la disposition typographique qui explique la phrase de Nai Môt. Mais, dans ses éditions successives, il a constamment reproduit cette phrase, sans y rien changer. Les éditions Bradley, en majeure partie, sinon toujours, sont une reproduction de l'œuvre de Nai Môt.

Le roi dit : vous reviserez les พระราชกำหนด พระไอยการ depuis le พระธรรมศาสตร, ce qui signifie, sans doute, *depuis le commencement*. Il y a là très probablement une allusion à un usage déjà établi qui plaçait le พระธรรมศาสตร en tête de la collection officielle des lois. (Cf. Lingat, *op. laud.*, JSS. XXIII, 1, p. 23).

Peut-on également conclure de cette phrase, sans excès de subtilité, que l'ordre de l'ensemble des lois pouvait bien être fixé dès avant CS. 1166-1167 ?

(34) Dans nos manuscrits พหว et ธรรมา c'est une règle constante que chaque loi soit précédée du บานแพนก. Or nous avons, dans พหว, บานลักษณ et บานพระพิมลธรรม. Le premier seul est précédé, conformément à la règle, du บานแพนก. Les deux morceaux sont, en réalité, les deux divisions d'une même loi. บานลักษณ et บานพระพิมลธรรม forment un ensemble et, dans la tradition antérieure à CS. 1166, comme aujourd'hui dans nos éditions imprimées, depuis l'édition princeps de Nai Mŏt, ils se suivaient déjà dans cet ordre.

(35) Si, maintenant, nous nous reportons à ce qui est situé à la fin de la collection dans l'ordre de Bradley, à défaut de texte, nous trouvons des indices d'un ordre ancien.

(1) Les deux dernières divisions de la collection (พระราชกำหนดเก่า et พระราชกำหนดใหม่) présentent ce trait commun d'être des recueils de décisions, non réduites à la forme du digeste et non encore classées sous les titres (ลักษณะ) auxquels elles ressortissent.

(2) Deux autres textes, qui se suivent immédiatement dans Bradley, se trouvent dans les même conditions. Ce sont : กฎหมายลักพาลัก et พระราชบัญญัติ. Parmi les textes qui suivent มูลศักราช dans le vol. II de Bradley, seuls, ธรรมเนียม (ราชา) et ขนบ ธรรม se trouvent expressément rattachés au พระธรรมศาสตร dans les formes habituelles.

Il n'y a pas à tenir compte de โจร ผู้ ร้าย, qui figure dans Bradley mais qui est postérieur à CS. 1169 (cf. p. 137 n. 2). Quant à

กฎมณเฑียรบาล (Palais) et สมณศักดิ์ (Communauté bouddhique) ils diffèrent profondément par leur objet des textes du premier volume. On peut donc imaginer, sans pouvoir toutefois en donner la preuve, que les textes du second volume de Bradley, à l'exception de มูลศักราช, quel que fût l'ordre dans lequel ils étaient rangés les uns par rapport aux autres, venaient tous, dès avant CS. 1167, après les textes qui figurent dans le premier volume.

(3) Enfin, on peut dire en gros qu'à deux ou trois exceptions près, d'ailleurs considérables, les textes du deuxième volume de Bradley qui, par le fond, se rattachent à ceux du premier volume, sont relativement récents, plus jeunes en tous cas que ceux du premier volume. On a bien souvent l'impression de matériaux nouveaux qui attendent d'être incorporés à l'édifice ancien, et que faute de temps, on a abandonné, un peu en désordre, sur le chantier.(1)

On sait d'ores et déjà, même en l'absence d'une concordance, que certains textes qui figurent encore dans ces compilations hétérogènes du deuxième volume de Bradley ont déjà trouvé place dans le titre auquel ils ressortissent par leur sujet.

C'est le cas, comme veut bien me le signaler M. Lingat, de: มูลศักราช, art. 14, qui se retrouve en กฎหมายเก่าพม่า, 22, ainsi que des textes datés de 1052 et 1086, en มูลศักราช, qui se retrouvent dans กฎหมายเก่าพม่า, 14, et dans กฎหมายเก่าพม่าใหม่, 5, respectivement.

D'autre part, comme l'a encore montré M. Lingat, *op. laud.*, JSS. XXIII, 1, p. 25, n. 1, on a au moins un exemple, en จักรวาล (Bradley [10], I, p. 247), d'un texte daté de CS. 1166 et inséré dans nos lois.

(36) Les textes de Nai Mŏt et du premier volume de Bradley, sauf naturellement le กฎมณเฑียรบาล et deux ou trois autres

(1) Cf. S. A. R. le Prince Damrong Rajānubhāb, กฎหมายตราสามดวง และ กฎหมายลักษณะรัชชูปการ, I, p. 706.

dont อินทกาย, sont expressément rattachés au พระธรรมสาตร. L'ensemble de chacun d'eux, ou même certaines de leurs parties, sont munis de "chapeaux" qui renvoient aux "rubriques" du พระธรรมสาตร, les reproduisent sous une forme parfois altérée et les traduisent.

Mais, contre toute attente, l'ordre de ces rubriques ne se retrouve, ni dans l'arrangement des lois chez Nai Mŏt, ni même dans l'agencement des rubriques pâlies à l'intérieur des lois qui en renferment plusieurs. D'autre part, toutes les rubriques du พระธรรมสาตร ne se retrouvent pas dans les lois, et l'on rencontre dans les lois des rubriques pâlies qu'on cherchera vainement dans le พระธรรมสาตร.

(37) Comme ces questions d'ordre sont d'une grande importance, chaque fois qu'il y aura lieu, nous indiquerons, au moyen de références au manuscrit หสม L1 et à Bradley [10], la place dans le พระธรรมสาตร des textes pâlis que l'on trouvera dans nos extraits.

(38) Nous nous bornerons, pour le moment, à un exemple.

ลักษณะวิวัทธ, dont la numérotation est du type à reprises, contient six rubriques pâlies, toutes présentes dans le พระธรรมสาตร. Ces six rubriques qui se trouvent dans Bradley [10], I, pp. 15 et suiv., font partie des มูลคดีแห่งปัจจัยสิ่งกายและสุขสาธารณ ๑๐ ประการ. Voici sur deux colonnes parallèles les numéros d'ordre de ces rubriques dans ลักษณะวิวัทธ et พระธรรมสาตร (มูลคดีแห่งปัจจัยสิ่งกายและสุขสาธารณ) respectivement :

ลักษณะวิวัทธ	พระธรรมสาตร
1	7
2	10
3	6
4	4
5	8
6	5

On voit d'abord que l'ensemble constitué par วิวัทธ ne recouvre pas toute entière la division du พระธรรมสาตร qui traite des มูลคดีแห่งปัจจัยสิ่งกายและสุขสาธารณ ๑๐ ประการ.

De plus, [illegible] range ses rubriques dans un ordre qui n'est pas celui du [illegible].

En donnant les références dans le [illegible] des textes pâlis publiés ci-dessous, on espère faciliter dans une mesure appréciable les recherches indispensables sur les rapports du [illegible] et des lois siamoises.

(39) En dehors de celles que nous fournissent les textes mêmes, nous avons peu de données intéressantes sur l'ordre des matières dans le *corpus juris* siamois. Il y en a une cependant qu'il nous faut signaler. Elle se trouve dans La Loubère, *Du Royaume de Siam*, Paris, 1691, I, p. 314, et, depuis lors, elle a été souvent reprise, notamment par Mgr. Pallegoix, *Description*.....Paris, 1854, I, p. 356.

(40) Voici ces textes :

(La Loubère) " Le Droit Public (*sic*) de Siam est écrit en trois Volumes (*sic*). Le premier s'appelle *Prá Tam Ra*, et contient les noms, les fonctions et les prérogatives de tous les Offices. Le second a pour titre, *Prá Tam Non*, et est un Recüeil des Constitutions des anciens Rois; et le troisiéme est le *Prá Rayja Cammanot*, où sont les Constitutions du Roy, Pere de celuy qui Regne aujourd'huy."

(Pallegoix) "Les Siamois possèdent un code de lois en quarante volumes, et divisé en trois parties. La première s'appelle *phra-tamra*, elle comprend les noms, les fonctions et les prérogatives de tous les offices. La seconde partie s'appelle *phra-thamnun* ; elle renferme les constitutions des anciens rois. La troisième partie, qu'on nomme *phra-raxa-kamnot*, comprend les nouvelles lois depuis le règne de *Phra-Narè*. Cette dernière partie se subdivise en outre en plusieurs *lakhana* ou sections dont voici les principales : *lakhana-chôn*, qui traite des brigands et des voleurs; *lakhana-thàt*, touchant les esclaves; *lakhana-phua-mia*, code conjugal; *lakhana-ku-ju'm*, (sic), qui traite des contrats et des dettes; *lakhana-vivàt*, des disputes et procès; *lakhana moradok*, des héritages, et *lakhana-bet-set* qui traite de

diverses matières." ....."On prétend que ce code de lois, pour le fond, est à peu près le même que celui du fameux Manu, législateur indien; il a été réformé et amplifié à plusieurs reprises, et surtout dans les temps modernes."

(41) La division tripartite, les trois rubriques, dans l'ordre, et, sauf une interversion probablement fautive, les trois analyses générales de La Loubère et de Pallegoix, cadrent d'une manière exacte avec l'ordre des textes dans Nai Mŏt-Bradley. En effet, le กฎหมายรัชกาลที่ et กฎหมาย ตราสามดวง (I et II de Nai Mŏt-Bradley) s'accommodent parfaitement de la rubrique commune: กฎหมาย. Le กฎหมายลักษณะ (III de Nai Mŏt-Bradley), qui porte le même nom que la seconde rubrique de La Loubère et de Pallegoix, vient dans Nai Mŏt-Bradley après les deux textes กฎหมายรัชกาลที่ et กฎหมาย ตราสามดวง et avant tous les autres textes, auxquels convient la rubrique générale กฎหมายโหดร.

(42) Il faut signaler cependant que La Loubère, et Pallegoix après lui, ont mis sous la rubrique กฎหมาย ce qui devait venir sous กฎหมายลักษณะ, ainsi que l'a remarqué déjà le Prince Nara, dans sa traduction siamoise de la version anglaise de La Loubère. (1) Quels que soient le sens et la portée du passage de La Loubère, il paraît probable qu'en ce point du moins, il contient une erreur.

(43) Pallegoix vise nos lois de CS. 1167, dans leur ensemble. Le chiffre de quarante volumes, l'énumération finale le prouvent. Pallegoix, d'autre part, reproduit, presque mot à mot, le texte de La Loubère. Mais il ne résulte nullement de ces faits que Pallegoix et La Loubère parlent des mêmes choses. Il n'en résulte nullement que La Loubère ait voulu parler d'un corps de lois assez semblable, dans l'ensemble, à celui auquel pensait sûrement Pallegoix, le *corpus* moderne.

(44) Il est évidemment possible que la division tripartite fût déjà appliquée à l'ensemble des lois dès le temps de La Loubère.

(1) กฎหมาย, Bangkok, RS. 2457, p. 289.

Mais, même s'il en était ainsi, ce n'est pas ce que nous dit La Loubère, car, à la différence de Pallegoix :

(1) La Loubère parle du *Droit Public* des Siamois, non du *code* de leurs lois ;

(2) La Loubère parle d'un ouvrage en *trois volumes*, dont il donne les rubriques et le contenu. Pallegoix, lui, parle d'un code en *quarante volumes* et divisé en *trois parties*, auxquelles il attribue les mêmes rubriques et le même contenu que La Loubère à *ses trois volumes*, sauf en ce qui concerne le contenu de la troisième, dont le détail montre bien que Pallegoix, en recopiant le texte de La Loubère, avait en vue, inconsciemment ou non, tout autre chose que La Loubère.

(3) La Loubère, en effet, nous dit en dernier lieu, que "le troisième (volume) est le *Prá Rayja Cammanot* où sont les constitutions du Roy, Pere de celuy qui regne aujourd'huy", c'est-à-dire กัมมนต์, là où Pallegoix a mis : "La troisième partie, qu'on nomme *phrarasa-kamnot* comprend les nouvelles lois depuis *Phra Narèt*" (roi antérieur de soixante ans au père de *Phra Narai*). Suit une énumération des principaux textes de cette partie, tous bien connus, mais rangés dans un ordre très différent de celui de Nai Mŏt, et dont beaucoup, dans les manuscrits, se donnent comme bien antérieurs à Phra Narèt.

(45) La Loubère était à la fois un homme de loi et un philologue sagace. [1] S'il a parlé de *Droit public*, de *trois volumes*, du *Roy, Pere de celuy qui regne aujourd'huy*, il savait ce qu'il disait. Tout ce que nous connaissons de lui montre qu'il n'était pas homme à introduire de fausses précisions là où ses notes gardaient le silence, et il savait prendre des notes.

Aussi, tout en tenant compte de l'erreur probable signalée au n°42, nous pouvons admettre que, dans l'ensemble, les renseignements

(1) Sur Simon de La Loubère, voir Lanier, *Etude historique sur les relations de la France et du royaume de Siam de 1662 à 1703*, dans les *Mémoires de la Société des Sciences morales, des Lettres et des Arts de Seine-et-Oise*, Tome XIII, Année 1883, p. 218, n. 1.

Dans son ouvrage sur le Siam, La Loubère est bien difficile à prendre en défaute.

de La Loubère sont dignes de confiance.

Il faut donc bien faire attention que nous n'avons pas encore de témoignage pour montrer que la division tripartite du *corpus*, bien attestée au XIXème siècle s'appliquait déjà au XVIIème à l'ensemble du corpus de ce temps.

Je n'entreprendrai pas ici de discuter les identifications possibles du texte auquel songeaient les informateurs de La Loubère lorsqu'ils parlaient du *Droit Public des Siamois*. Je me contenterai de dégager les données dont nous disposons dès à présent touchant la division tripartite.

(1) Au XIXème siècle, l'ordre de Nai Môt-Bradley respecte la division tripartite et l'ordre de ses éléments.

(2) Au XVIIème siècle, cette division est attestée, mais appliquée à une partie du *corpus* qui reste à identifier, non à l'ensemble.

(3) Si l'on songe que la division tripartite ne paraît pas être d'origine indigène et qu'elle cadre bien avec l'ensemble de l'ancien droit écrit siamois, on serait tenté de supposer que dès le XVIIème siècle elle s'appliquait à l'ensemble du corps de lois alors existant, dont la structure, tout au moins, devait être assez semblable à celle du corpus d'aujourd'hui. Mais pareille conclusion serait prématurée, car, pour la rendre admissible, il faudrait au préalable démontrer que le cas d'application de la division tripartite que nous connaissons pour le XVIIème n'était, au XVIIème siècle, qu'un cas particulier d'une application plus générale. Or, dans l'état actuel des données, il serait tout aussi plausible de supposer que la division tripartite s'est étendue à l'ensemble du *corpus* après le XVIIème siècle seulement et à partir de l'application limitée qui est seule attestée pour cette époque.

Pour ma part, je pencherais vers l'autre hypothèse, mais je dois convenir qu'elle attend sa démonstration.

Je voudrais maintenant remercier M. R. Lingat, qui a revu plusieurs fois sur les manuscrits les textes qui vont suivre et qui, par ses conseils et ses critiques, m'a aidé à poser dans cette introduction quelques problèmes que je crois nouveaux.

Bangkok, 13 Mars 1930

I พระธรรมสาตร

1

Titres: plat: พระสมุด พระธรรมสาตร ๒๑๒; *tranches:* พระธรรมสาตร. 1 vol., 114 pp. *Dépôt:* Vaj. *Cote:* ๕๓. *Provenance:* มุรธาธร. *Date d'entrée:* 31 mai 2467.

(L1)

Ligne différentielle: (1d).....กิธาดิราช

1 (a) ๒๑๒ วัน ๖ ๑๐ ค่ำจุลศักกราช ๑๒๖๗ ปีฉลูสัพศก ข้า พระพุทธิเจ้าชุนษาราบันจงบหลัด (b) กรมอาลักษณ์ชุบ ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า ชุนสารประเสริฐ / หมื่นพิมลอักษร / นายเทียรราช } ทานแล้ว ๑ ครั้ง ขอเดชะ [๒]๒๒

Contenu: (1) บานแพนก: 3–13; (2) พระธรรมสาตร: 14–114.

(68d) paṭibhāṇañcachedako ก็ดอักษณตัดสำนวนประการ ๑ aṭṭagāho :

กลับ, p.69.

(70a) ก็ดอักษณรับฟังได้มิได้ประการ ๑ aṭṭakūṭo ก็ดอักษณ ประดิษฐ[ความไว้ให้ช้า]ประ (Bradley[10], I, p. 16, l. 1)

2

Titres: plat: ๏พระสมุท พระธรรมสำคราะ๏—; *tranches:* พระธรรมสำคร. 1 vol., 107 pp. *Dépôt:* Justice. *Cote:* néant. *Provenance:* inconnue. *Date d'entrée:* inconnue.

(Lix)

Ligne différentielle: (4d).....กิชาติราชสุริ

1(a)๏๏ วันอ + ๑๐ค่ำจุลศักกราช ๑๑๖๗ ปีฉลูศก ข้า พระพุทธิเจ้าจุนยาราบันจง(b)บทอัคกรมอาลากษณ์ชุบ ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้าจุนสารประเสริฐ
หมื่นพิมลอักษร
นายเทียรคราช
ทานสอบ = ครั้ง ฉบเสร็จ ๏๏—

Contenu: (1)บานแพนก: 3–13; (2)พระธรรมสำคร: 14–107.

(54 d) to คือเจรจาความมีสามประการ tināsyato คือมิได้เกียจคร้านในความ :

กฉบ, p. 55.

(56 a) มีสามประการ tidalhato คือให้มั่นในความมีสามประการ tiissaro คือเปนอิศร (Bradley[10], I, p. 13. l. 16)

3

Titres: *plat*: complètement effacé; *tranches*: *gauche*: พระธรรมสาตร; *droite*: vestiges. 1 vol., 107 pp. *Dépôt*: Justice. *Cote*: néant. *Provenance*: inconnue. *Date d'entrée*: inconnue. Mauvais état.

(L1y)

Ligne différentielle: (4d).....วิชาติราชสุริวงศ์

1(a) ๒๑๒ วันธ + ๑๐ค่ำจุลศักกราช ๑๑๖๗ ปีฉลูสัพศก ข้า พระพุทธิเจ้าจุนยาราบันจงบทดัด(b)กรมยาลักษณชุบ ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้าจุนสำรประเสริฐ หมื่นพิมลอักษร นายเทียรราช | ทานแล้ว = ครั้ง ๒๐๑๓๒๒๐—

Contenu: (1)บานแพนก: 3–13c; (2)พระธรรมสาตร: 13d–107.

(54 d) timūlato มูลคดีสามประการนั้น attamūlo คือคำร้องพองแลคำให้การเปนมูลคดี ๑

กลับ, p. 55.

(56 a) aṭṭagāho คือผู้รับคำร้องพองแลให้การเปนมูลคดี ๑ sāmimūlo คือโจท (Bradley[10], I, p. 13. l. 22)

II อินทภาษ

1

Titres: *plat*: ...]ดมุ[.....]นท[.....]ะ๏—; *tranches*: อินทภาษ. 1 vol., 102 pp. *Dépôt*: Justice. *Cote*: néant. *Provenance*: inconnue. *Date d'entrée*: inconnue.

(L2)

Ligne différentielle: (3b)...รามาธิบดี

1(a)๏ วันอ + ๑๐ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๖๗ บัณฑูลพิศักข้าพระพุทธิ

จุนสำรประเธียร
เจ้านายข้านายบ่าวไพร่ทั้งหลาย(b)ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า หลวงวิจิตรวรรณา ทาน
นายเทียรราช

๏ ครั้ง ยอเดชะ ๚๏—

Contenu: (1)บานแพนก: 3–15; (2)อินทภาษ: 16–102.

(52d) บัดนี้ กระทำให้อาดมาถึงซึ่งความฉิบหายด้วยเหตุอันใดอันหนึ่งเป็นมั่นคง

กลับ: p. 53.

(54a) อันหนึ่งอย่าพึงกล่าวว่าผู้นี้มีวิทยาคมแต่ผมอย่าลังกายแกล้วกล้าถ้าพ่ายแพ้(Bradley[10], I, p. 30, l. 15)

2

Titres: *plat*: ๏ พระสมุด หลักอินท[ภาษ] ๚๏—; *tranches*: อินทภาษ.

1 vol., 102 pp. *Dépôt*: Vaj. *Cote*: ๔๘. *Provenance*: มุรธาธร. *Date d'entrée*: 31 mai 2467.

(L2x)

Ligne différentielle: (3b)... รามาธิบดีศรี

1(a) ๏ วันอาทิตย์ เดือนจุลศักราช ๑๒๖๗ ปีฉลูสัปตศก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า
นายชำนาญอักษรชุบ (b) ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า จมื่นสารประเสริฐ / หลวงฤกษ์ดิถีรจนา / นายเทียรคราช } ทาน ๏ ครั้ง
ยอเดชะ ๏—

Contenu: (1)บานแพนก:3–15; (2)อินทภาษ: 16–102.

(52d)เปนมนตร ยังอย่าพึงกล่าวว่าผู้นมวิทยาคมแต่ผมอกาลัง
กายแกล้วกล้า :

กลับ: p. 53.

(54a)ถ้าพ่ายแพ้ลงก็จะเคียดโกรธอาตมาแล้ว จะทำความวินาศ
อันใดอันหนึ่งให้ถึงเรา (Bradley[10],I, p. 30, l. 16)

3

Titres: *plat*: ๏ พระ]ด[มุ]ท[.....]ท[.....]๏—

tranches: อินทภาษ. 1 vol., 101 pp. *Dépôt*: Justice. *Cote*: néant. *Provenance*: inconnue. *Date d'entrée*: inconnue.

(L2y)

Ligne différentielle: (3b)...รามาธิบดีศรีสินทร

1(a)๏ วัน ๘ ๑๐ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๖๘ ปีฉลูสัพศกข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า

จุนลำรปเศรีฐี
หลวงวิจิตรวรรณา ทาน
นายเทียรราช

๑ ครั้ง ขอเดชะ ๚๏—

Contenu: (1)บานแพนก:3–15; (2)อินทภาษ:16–101.

(54d) ม้วหลงไหลไปมิได้รู้จักบาปบุญคุณแลโทษประโยชนแลใช่ประโยชน มิได้รู้จักผิด

กลับ: p. 55.

(56a) แลชอบ มีแต่ให้มืดคลุ้มหุ้มไปด้วยโมหันทะการะเปนนิจ ดังนเปนลักษณ (Bradley[10], I, p. 31, l. 8)

III พระธรรมนูญ

1

Titres plat: ๏พระธ[.....] ; *tranches*: vestiges. 1 vol., 115 pp. *Dépôt*: Justice. *Cote*: néant. *Provenance*: inconnue. *Date d'entrée*: inconnue.

(L3)

Ligne différentielle: (3b)...ราชอิน

1(a) ๏ วัน ๏+๏ ศาจุลศักราช ๑๑๖๘ ปีฉลูศกราชพระพุทธ
เจ้านายแก้วอาลักษณ (b)ชุบ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า หมื่นพิมลอักษร ทาน
นายเทียรคราช
๏ ครั้ง ขอเดชะ ๓ ๏—

Contenu: (1)บานแพนก: 3–13; (2)พระธรรมนูญ: 14–115.

(60d) เมืองสมุทสงคราม เมืองสาครบุรี มีคราโปดั้งเจ้าเมือง ปะหลัดรองปะหลัด :

กลับ : p. 61.

(62a) ณะหว่าวเมืองซึ่งขึ้นแก่โกษาธิบดีนั้น แลมีคราโปเอากิจราชการ แลกิจสุขทุกข์ (Bradley[10], I, p. 49, l. 15)

2

Titres: *plat*: พระสมุท พระท้ายน้ำ ๓๐— ; *tranches*: พระท้ายน้ำ. 1 vol., 107 pp. *Dépôt*: Vaj. *Cote*: ๓๕. *Provenance*: don

du พระยาศรีธรรมจิราช (เจิม บุณยราชพันธุ์). *Date d'entrée*: 2 janvier 2470.

(L3x)

Ligne différentielle: (3b)...ราชาธิบดินทร

1(a)๏วัน๓+๑๐ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๖๗ ปีฉลูสัพศก (b) ข้าพระพุทธิ
เจ้าหมื่นรัตไมตรีชุบ ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า จุนสารประเสริฐ / หมื่นพิมลอักษร / นายเทียรราช / ทาน (c)๏ ครั้ง
ขอเดชะ ๓๓๑—

Contenu: (1)บานแพนก: 3–14 b; (2)พระธรรมนูญ: 14c–107.

๏ (14c) ในลักษณพระธรรมนูญ เปนมูลคดีแห่งกระลาการ มีบาฬีในพระธรรม (d) ว่าดังนี้ yokiñcāpivicāraṇo dhammānurūpalañcanaṃ avahārādyatthānaṃ (15a) sodhammānuññotivuccare ๛ แปลว่า yosabhāvo อันว่าสภาวะอันใด (b) vicāraṇo พิเคราะห์ dhammānurūpalañcanaṃ ซึ่งกิริยาอันประกับพร้องโดยธรรมควร (c) แก่ตระหรางแล้วแลส่งไป avahārādyatthānaṃ แก่ตระหรางความทั้งหลายมี (d) ตระหรางนครบาลเปนต้น xxiii–๑.

kiñcāpi แม้นโดยแท้ sosabhāvo ว(16a) อันว่าสภาวะประทับความ ควรแก่ตระหรองโดยธรรมนั้น vuccare อันมะโน (b) ตำราจารยกล่าวไว้ dhammānuññoiti ชื่อว่าพระธรรมนูน ๛—

(c) ๏ ท่านจะแก้เป็นลำชะคดีมโดยพระราชบัญญัติอันบุราณราชกระษัตริย์ดำเนินตามลำดับ (d) พระธรรมสำหรับ แล้วตั้งเป็นบทกำหนดตระหรองสืบ ๆ กันมาดังนี้ ๛ (17a) ๏ ศุภมัสดุ ๑๕๔๔ ศกชวดนักษัตรเชตมาศศุขปักษดิถีอาทิตยวาร (b) พระบาทสมเดจ์เอกาทศรฐธิดำรัสบรมนารถบรมบพิตรพระพุทธเจ้าอยู่หัวเสด็จใน (c) พระที่นั่งมงกุฎพิมานสถานพิมุกขไพชยนต์รัตนมหาปราสาท จึ่งมีพระราชโองการมาน (d) พระบันทูลจาเพาะพระศรีภูริปรีชาธิราชเสนาบดีศรีสำลักษณให้ตราพระราชบัญญัติ (18a) แก่สารกำนันการทั้งปวง เหตุตระหรองการว่าดังแสดงไปเมื่อหน้า ซึ่งผู้ใดว่า (b) ราชการทุกกรมอันหาโรงสำนั้นมิได้ ใช่กระลาการที่จะพิจารณาความบังคับบรรถ (c) คดีอนาประชาราษฎรผู้เป็นข้าแผ่นดินแลอย่าให้ผู้หา โรง/สาน มิได้นั้นรับหนังสือเอามา (d) ไกลกายเองถ้าแลราษฎรจะร้องฟ้องใช้ให้มุนนายอนาพญาบาลนำเอามาว่าตามตระหรอง (19a) รูปความ ซึ่งบันดามีโรงสำนั้น จะได้พิจารณาเนื้อความทั้งปวงนั้นให้พิจารณาตาม (b) ตระหรอง

15 divisions, numérotées 1–15.

๏ (44c) ๏ กล่าวลักษณพระธรรมนูนไว้ตระหรองความสังเขปสิ้นแต่เท่านี้ ๛—

(d) ๏ ศุภมัสดุ ๑๕๕๕ ศกกุรนักษัตรอาสุชมาศกาฬะปักษยทศมีดิถีพุทธวาร (45a) พระบาทสมเดจ์เอกาทศรฐธิดำรัสบรมนารถบรมบพิตร

พระพุทธิเจ้าอยู่หัวเสด็จ ในพระ (b) วิหารสมเด็จฝ่ายบูรพอัสาทิศแห่ง
ไพชนต์มหาประสาท จึงมีพระราชโองการ (c) มานพระบันทูลจำเพาะ
แก่พระศรีภูริยปรีชาธิราชเสนาบิบดีศรีสำลักษณให้ตราพระราชกฤษ (d)
ฎีกาประทับประเดียงแก่เจ้าพญาจตพญาพระหลวงหัวเมืองมนตรีมุลลูกขุน
ราชนิกุล (46a) หัวหมื่นหัวพันสรรพกำนันทั้งปวงทุกกระทรวง ฝ่ายทหาร
พลเรือนซ้ายขวาตั้งแต่นั้นไป (b) เมียหน้า ถ้าแลกรมใดแลจะใช้ตราด้วย
ราชการ แลกิจการสำคานสมาคราะ (c) แลตั้งขุนหมื่นแลเรียกค่าไร่นา
อากรสมภักษรขนอนตลาด น้ำฉหารหัวบ่าค่าที่ (d) เรือนให้ใช้
ตามตระทรวงซึ่งได้ใช้ คือตรามหาดไทย ตรากะลาโหม แลตราจตุ
(47a) สดมภ์ทั้งสี่ ตราพญาพระเสด็จ ตราพญาเดโช ตราพญาท้ายน้ำ
ตราพระยาสักษณ (b) ตราพระไหราบิบดี ตราพญาราชภักดี ตราพระ
ศรีพิพัท ตราพระราชสุภาวดี (c) ตราพระสุรสังวดี (ซ้าย / ขวา) ตราษารภากร
(ใน / นอก) ตราหลวงอำมาต ตราหลวงธรรมโครา (d) โลก ตราขุนหลวง
พระไกรศรี ตราขุนกระเสม ตราขุนเทพอรชุน ตราขุนราชนิกุล (48a)
ตราขุนธรเนน ตราขุนเทเพน ตามตระทรวงซึ่งมีในพระธรรมนูน

1 division, non numérotée.

(54d) แต่เท่านี้ อนึ่งตราจักรเจ้าพญาจักรีนั้นได้ใช้ประทับตรา
(พระราชสีห์ / พระคชสีห์ / บัวแก้ว) ไปลงพระราชอาชญา

กลับ: p. 55

(56a) ประหารชีวิตรกรมการแลผู้ต้องโทษถึงตายณหัวเมืองทั้งปวง บันดาฯ (Bradley[10], I, p. 48, l. 16)

26 divisions, dont deux numérotées 17–18.

(100c) ๏ อนึ่งแรงทั้งสี่จะได้ว่า (d) อรรถคดีทั้งปวงใช้แต่เบี้ยตำแลนตงไป แลทวยราษฎรผู้มีคดีเอาอรรถคดีเบี้ยพัน (101a) แล้นไป ให้แรงทั้งสี่ว่าอรรถคดีนั้นใช้อย่าให้แรงว่า แต่ว่าให้กุมไว้ (b) ถ้าแลกรมใดๆ ในโรงศาลแลได้จ่ายญาช้างสัพมาตรา แลขุนราชนิกุลนิตยะ (c) ภักดีซึ่งได้จ่ายญาช้างเดือนนั้นจึงให้เบิกความเบี้ยพันแล้นนั้นไปพิจารณาตาม (d) ตระทวง ถ้าแลอรรถคดีผิดตระทวงใช่ อย่าให้เบิกอรรถคดีนั้นไปพิจารณา (102a) ถ้าแลกรมใดๆ ซึ่งหาโรงศาลมิได้ จะเบิกเอาอรรถคดีมาพิจารณา อย่า (b) ให้แรงส่ง ถ้ามีตรากรมใดๆ ซึ่งมีในพระธรรมนูนให้ใช้นั้น แลใช้ตราล่วง (c) กรมบังคับบัญชา ไปมาแปลกพระธรรมนูนนั้นใช่อย่าให้ฟัง ให้บอกเข้ามายัง (d) มหาดไทย ถ้ามีตรามหาดไทใช้ตราล่วงกรมบังคับบัญชาไปแปลกพระธรรมนูนอย่าให้ฟัง (103a) ให้บอกถวายพระศรีภูริปรีชา อนึ่งถ้ามีตรากรมใดๆ นอกพระธรรมนูนนั้นไปแก่กรมการ (b) แลแรงจังหวัดให้เรียกส่วยสาอากรสมพักษรขนอนตลาดน้ำลหาร หัวบ่าค่าที่เรือน (c) แลผู้คนซึ่งมีอรรถคดี แลตั้งขุนหมื่นแลด้วยสาระพัดประการใดๆ อย่าให้ฟังแลให้ (d) กรมการแลแรงจังหวัดกุมเอาผู้ถือตรา แลตรานั้นเข้ามายังมหาดไทย แลให้ทำ (104a) ตามบัญญัติไว้นี้ แลรับตรานอกพระธรรมนูนนี้ก็ดี ใช้ตราล่วงพระธรรมนูน (b) นี้ใช่ จะให้ลงพระราชอาชญาแก่ผู้นั้นจนสิ้นชีวิตร ศักราช ๙๗๗ กุรดัพศก ๒๔—

1 division, non numérotée.

(107b) ๏ ลักษณพระธรรมนูนใช้ตราส่งเขปสิ้นแต่เท่านี้ ๒๑—

IV ลักษณวิวาท

Titres : plat : complètement effacé ; *tranches:* [... .....ว]าท. 1 vol., 83 pp. *Dépôt:* Vaj. *Cote:* ๕๑. *Provenance:* don du Roi. *Date d'entrée* : 23 janvier 2451.

(L4)

1(a) ๏ วันอ + ๑๐ ค่ำ จุลศักราช ๑๑๖๗ ปีฉลูสัพศก ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า
นายบุญมี (b) อาลักษณ์ชุบ ข้าพระพุทธเจ้า ขุนสารประเสริฐ / นายเทียรราช / นายฝาก
ทาน ๓ ครั้ง ขอเดชะ ๚๏—

Contenu : (1)บานแพนก: 3–15b ; (2)ลักษณวิวาท: 15c–83.

(15c) ๏ อันว่าลักษณวิวาท (ศัพท์ ตา) นั้นแลลักษณรุกไป (ศัพท์ ตา) ท่านเปนมูล
คดี(d)มีพระบาฬีในคำภีร์พระธรรมสำคัญว่า paharañcakhumsā thānāvitikkammabalā (16a)karena เปนอาทิดังนี้ จึงมีอรรถาธิบาย
ยาวคดีอันใบราณราชกษัตร(b)บัญญัติสืบๆมาโดยมาตราดังนี้ ๚๏—

(c) ๏ คุ ภมัศดุ ๏[–]๐๕ ศกสัปตศังวัจฉรเชษฐมาศศุกขบักษยดิถี
(d)ศุภวาระ มีพระราชโองการบัญญัติพระราชอาชญา ด้วยเดชะพระเจ้า
รามา (17a) ธิบดีศรีสุนทรราชบรมจักรพรรดิศวรบรมบพิตรพระพุทธเจ้า
อยู่หัว มีพระราช(b)หฤไทยกรุณา ปรารถนาจะจับตันทุกขทุรราษฎร

จึงให้ตราพระราช(c)กฤษฎีกา โฆษณาแก่ชาวเจ้าเหล่าราชนิกุลอุนหมื่น พฤฒามาตย์ราชมน(d)ศรีพิริยโยราชมลังกัดพัน อันมีในพระราชอาณาจักรประชาราษฎรทั้งปวง ะ(18) ตั้งแต่นี้สืบไปเบื้องหน้า

24 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–24.

(44 d) จับเอาดินเบียกเข้าเบียกชน เนื้อ ปลา ตัดทรายเบียกทั้งขัดท่าน กัดให้ไหมเสมอ

กฉับ, p. 45.

(46 a) คักคือมัย ถ้าจำตัดท่านด้วยน้ำผึ้งน้ำอ้อยน้ำมันแลเมดเข้าเปลือกกัด (Bradley[10], I, p. 65, l. 20)

10 *mātrā*, numérotés 25–34.

(64 a) ๏ กล่าวลักษณวิวาทชกตีพันแทงให้ปรับไหมโดยลังเขปแต่เท่าน

3 *mātrā*, numérotés 35–37.

(69 b)..... ๏ กล่าวลักษณวิวาทต่างกัน (c) ให้ปรับไหมโดยลังเขปแต่เท่าน

9 *mātrā*, numérotés 38–46.

(83 a).....ฃ กล่าวลักษณเมถุนวิวาทกัน จะเอาเปนรูปได้มี (b) ได้โดยลังเขปแต่เท่าน

V ลักษณรับพ้อง

Titres: *plat*: ๏[พระสมุดพระ]ไตยการ[ลัก]ณรับพ้องฯ๏—; *tranches*: รับพ้อง. 1 vol., 121 pp. *Dépôt*: Vaj. *Cote*: ส๔. *Provenance*: มุรธาธร. *Date d'entrée*: 31 mai 2467.

(L5)

1 (a) ๏ วัน ๓ ๑๐ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๒๖๗ ปีมะเมียตรีศก ข้าพระ

พุทธิเจ้านายบุญสุ่ม (b) ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า { หลวงอิศรจนา / นายเทียรคราช / นายโตอาลักษณ } ทาน

๏ ครั้ง ขอเดชะ ฯ๏—

Contenu: (1) บานแพนก: 3-14; (2) ลักษณรับพ้อง: 15-121.

(15a) ๏ ในลักษณธรรฐคาหะเปนมูลคดีแห่งพระอาการ มีบาฬีในพระธรรมสำคร้องนั้น (b) mūlaatthappatiggāho yoyuttāyuttajānako socagahitatthamūlo (c) aṭṭaggāhotivuccare ๆ แปลว่า yojano อันว่าบุคคลผู้ใด yuttāyutta (d) jānako มีปรกติรู้ซึ่งลักษณอันควรแลมิได้ควร mūlaatthappaṭiggāho ๏ (16a) รับเอาซึ่งคำพ้อง socajano อันว่าบุคคลผู้นั้น gahitatthamūlo มีพ้องอันควรรับ (b) แลรับไว้ vuccare อันมะในคำราจารยกล่าว aṭṭaggāhoiti ชื่อว่าลักษณรับพ้อง ฯ๏— (c) ๏ ทีนจะแก้เปนคำชะคดีโดยพระราชบัณหฺยัต อันบุราณราชกระษัตร์ท่านตั้งตามคำภีร (d) พระธรรมสำคร แล้วตั้งเปนบทมาตราสืบๆกันมาดังนี้ ฯ๏—

(17a) ๏ ศุภมัสดุ ๑๘๙๙ ศกมะแมนักษัตรเดือนอ้ายขึ้นสองค่ำวันศุกร วาร มีพระราชโองการ (b) ทรงสมเดจ์พระเจ้ารามาธิบดีศรีสุนทรจักรพรรดิ ราชาธิราชราเมศวรธรรมิกราชเดโชชัย (c) เทพดรีภูวนาธิเบศรมมหิศร พระพุทธเจ้าอยู่หัว ให้กราพระราชบันหญัติคำนับ (d) ประเดียโภษนา แก่หมื่นขุนมุนนายทุกตระกรวงทบวงการในเมืองหลวงนอกขอบ (18a) ขน บทอีกทังอนาประชาราษฎรทังหลายในแว่นแควันกรุงเทพมหานครศรีอยุทธยามหา (b) ดิหลกภพนพรัตนราชธานีบุรีรมย ตังแต่นี้สืบไปเมื่อหน้า ผู้มี อรรถคดีจะมาให้การ (c) กฎหมายร้องพ้องห้ามมิให้รับร้องพ้องไว้บังคับ บันชานั้นมิให้หลักอันทพาย ๘ ศอกคน (d) พิกลจริตบ้าใบ้ ๑ ศอกคนเสียจักษุ ทังสองข้างมิได้เห็น ๑ คนเสียหูทังสองข้างมิได้ยิน ๑ (19a) เปนง่อยเปลี้ย เดิรไปมามิได้ ๑ เปนคนกยาจกถือกระบองกระลาขอทาน ๑ เปนคน (b) สูงอายุคมหลวงไหล ๑ เดกต่ำอายุคมเอาถ้อยคำมิได้ ๑ เปน ๘ จำพวก คน ๘ จำ (c) พวกนี้ถ้ามาพ้องร้องเรียนอย่าเพ่อพึงก่อน ให้ผู้เปนตระลาการ ไต่สวนผู้เปนสักขีญาน (d) รู้เห็น ถ้าสมดังมันกล่าวจริง จึงให้รับไว้ บังคับบันชาโดยมันกล่าว ถ้าหมิสม (20a) ท่านว่าอย่าให้รับคดีนั้นไว้ บังคับบันชาเลย

19 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–19.

(38d)...ลำแดง (39a) โดยลักษณรับพ้องได้มิได้ โดยมูลคดีแห่ง ตระลาการผลลำขดคดีคือบหมาตราสันแต่เท่าน (b) ๏ ท่านจักกล่าวในลักษณ โจทกะเฉทกะคือคดีพ้องจัดเปนมูลคดีในคำภีรพระธรรมสำหรับ (c) พระบา

ทีดังนี้ parihāravaccanamyaṃ codakānamukkoṭikaṃ sabbantaṃdhammasātena codacche (d) dakamuddhise

แปลว่า yamparihāravacanaṃ อันว่าคำแห่งจำเดียอันใด ukkotikaṃ มีปรกติ (40a) เพิกเสียถอนเสีย vacanaṃ ซึ่งคำ codakānaṃ แห่งบุทคลทั้งหลายอันเปนโจท (b) ācāriyo อันว่าอาจารย uddhise ตำแหง tamvacanaṃ ซึ่งคำนั้น sabbaṃ ทั้งปวง (c) codacchedakaṃ ชื่อว่าโจทกะเฉทก dhammasātena โดยคำกีรพระธรรม ดำรัส ๒ ๑— (d) ๑ ทั้นจักสำแดงสาธกะคือธิบายจากมูลคดีมีมาดราโดยพระราชบัญัติเปนอันมากสับสับ (41a) กันมาดังนี้ ๒๕ ศุภมัศดุ ๑๕๙๓ ศักกราชวรเชฐมาสศุขปักเขเอกาทศีอาทิตยวาร (b) พระบาทสมเดจ์เอกาทสรฐิอัครบรมนารถบรมบพิตรพระพุทธิเจ้าอยู่หัวคือยงค์สมเดจ์พระ (c) นารายน์เปนเจ้าผู้ทรงทศพิธราชธรรมอันมหาประเสริฐเดจ์ในพระธรรมพระวิหารสมเดจ์ (d) โดยทักษิณาพิมุข สมเดจบรมนารถบรมบพิตรพระพุทธเจ้าอยู่หัว มีพระราชโองการ (42a) ตำหรัดว่าถ้าอนาประชาราษฎรมีคะดีแก่กันด้วยประการใดใด ให้มุขมนตรีลูกขุนผู้พิภาก (b) ชาคะดีอนาประชาราษฎรให้แล้วให้เร่งเอามาพิดทูลร่ำเรียนแก่พระเจ้าอยู่หัวอย่าให้ละไว้ (c) ข้านาน จึ่งเสนามนตรีมุขลูกขุนผู้เฝ้าพระบาทสมเดจ์บรมบพิตรพระพุทธิเจ้าอยู่หัวกราบ (d) บังคมทูลมูลคดีซึ่งมีเหตุข้านี้ให้ทราบพระบาทสมเดจ์พระพุทธิเจ้าอยู่หัวจึ่งตำหรัดแก่ (43a) มุขมนตรีลูกขุนผู้ได้พิภากษาว่า อนาประชาราษฎรผู้มีอัคะดีต่างกู้ดิดใช้กันมีอย่างข้าม (b) ได้ดิดพ้องดิดล้านวน ต่างกู้มีอย่างดิดพ้องดิดล้านวน แลผู้พิภากษาหมิได้แจ้ง (c) ในบทพระไอยการที่ว่าดิดล้านวนนั้นหมิได้ดิดล้านวนที่ว่าหมิได้ดิดล้านวนปฤกษา (d) ว่าดิดล้านวน อนาประชาราษฎรได้ความยาก

แล้น แต่นั้นจับไปเมื่อหน้า (44a) ถ้าแลอนาประชาราษฎรมิก้อยคำร้องพ้องคำถา แลพ้องร้องเรียนกฎหมายโรงอำรกรม (b) ใด ๆ ถ้าในพ้องแลกฎหมายนั้นหมิได้ให้เรียกถึด ๓ พ้องแลกฎหมายนั้นได้ให้เรียก (c) พ้องกับคำกฎนั้นข้อใจความหมิต้องกันถึด ๒ อนึ่งหาผู้มีบันดาศักดิหมิได้ให้เรียก (d) ทนายต่างตัวถึด ๓ อนึ่งผู้มีบันดาศักดิหาเปนเนื้อความแพ่งอาญาอุธรหมิได้แต่ง (45a) ทนายให้ ว่า / แก้ ต่างตัวถึด ๔ อนึ่งในพ้องร้องแลกฎหมายหมิใช่ญาติพี่น้องเกบเอา (b) คดีเพื่อนผู้มิตรสหายมาพ้องมากฎหมายถึด ๕ อนึ่งในพ้องนั้นเปนคนอุทอุมหมิ (c) ได้รู้คุนพ่อแม่บุหญ้าตายายมันมาหาความแก่พ่อแม่บุหญ้าตายายถึด ๖ อนึ่งหมิได้ (d) เปนญาติพี่น้องกล่าวหาทรัพยมรฎกถึดเอาทรัพยมรฎกมากวายเลยถึด ๗ อนึ่ง (46a) เปนญาติพี่น้องกันหมิได้ช่วยรักษาไช่ปลงศัภเผามาหาทรัพมรฎกถึด ๘ แลหาทรัพ (b) มรฎกให้ผู้อื่นแก่ต่างว่าต่างถึด ๙ อนึ่งทรัพยมรฎกพ่อแม่พี่น้องตายพี่นับหนึ่งซ้น ะ(c) ไปแล้วมากล่าวหาถึด ๑๐ อนึ่งคดีสุภาคระลาการบั่ง คับ / ชา แล้วหมิได้หาคดีซ้อนึ่น (d) แลเกบเอาคดีซึ่งยอมลำเรจกันแลมิลันไหมพิไนแล้วมาพ้องร้องเรียนแลกฎหมาย (47a) ถึด ๑๑ แลคดีผู้ประกันว่าความต่าง ใจความหมิต้องกับพ้องแลคำกฎหมายถึด ๑๒ (b) อนึ่งมิพระไอยการปรับมาเปนลันไหมพิไนแลได้ปฤกษาให้เรียกลันไหมพิไนตามพระ (c) ไอยการแลยังหมิได้เลียงตามพิภากษาก่อนแลพ้องหา อาญา / อุธร สุภาคระลาการ (d) จำ

ผู้ศึกษาเล่มเรียน หมั่นใคร่ครวญใช้สอยว่าท่านแต่งมากเป็นน้อย ๆ เป็นมาก (48a)และปรองใช้สอยแปลงพระไตรการเลี่ยกัด ๓๓ อนึ่งมีเบาะแสเถียรหรือว่าไรงศัก(b) ซึ่งท่านแต่งไว้และกัด ๓๔ อนึ่งเป็นกระนั้นสำเหนียกกันหมั่นพร้องร้องเรียนมาในโลก(c)เจตเตียนกัด ๓๕ อนึ่งเป็นพิกลจริตบ้าใบ้สูงอายุสมหาสติหมั่นมาร้องพร้องกฎหมาย(d) เป็นเนื้อความแห่งอาญาอุธรณครบาลกัด ๓๖ อนึ่งวิวาทกันเมื่อเป็นพระภิกษุมั่นได้กล่าว (49a) หา ครั้นศึกออกแล้วกล่าวหาตะคันนั้น ๓๗ อนึ่งวิวาทชกตีกันเมื่อเป็นฆราวาส (b) หมั่นได้กล่าวหากัน ครั้นเป็นภิกษุแล้วมากล่าวหากันกัด ๓๘ อนึ่งมันเป็น (c) ไตรปล้นสัตมรับเป็นสิ่งแล้วของมันมาหาอาญาอุธรกระลาการเจ้าทรัพย์กัด ๓๙ (d) อนึ่งเป็นสิ่งว่าเป็นฉมบจะกอะกะกัด แลมาพร้องร้องเรียนแก่มุขอุกฺกุนกัด ๔๐ แล (50a) ราษฎรผู้ต้องคะดีถ้อยคำคัดพ้อง ๔๐ ประการนี้ท่านให้มุขอุกฺกุนพิภากษาตามบทพระ(b)โดยการพระราชพระราชกฤษฎีกา ถ้าต้องด้วยพระไตรการห้าม ๔๐ ประการนี้แล้วให้ยกพ้องเสีย

5 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–5.

(55b)... กล่าวลักษณะคดีพ้องโดยมูลคดีแลกล่าวคดีมีความ(c) พระราชบัณหยัดจัดเป็นบทมาตราโดยสังเขปแต่เท่านี้ ๆ ทั้งจักกล่าวด้วยลักษณะ (d) คดีสำนวนโดยคำที่พระธรรมสำตรมีบาฬีว่า yaṃcocudakavacanaṃ paṭivākyassachindanaṃ (56a) tampiyevapaṭibhāṇa chedakotipakittitaṃ แปลว่าyaṃcodacu[dakava] (b) canaṃ อันว่าถ้อยคำแห่ง ไตร จำเลย อันใด chindanaṃ มีกริยาอันตัดเสีย paṭivākyassa (c) ซึ่งสำนวน tampievavacanamนั้นอันว่าคำนั้นแท้จริง pakittitaṃ อันมะในสาราจารย(d) สำแดง paṭibhāṇachedakoiti ชื่อว่าปฏิภาณเฉทกะคือคัดสำนวน

(a) ๏ ก็นจะกล่าวลำขดะต้นโดยพระธรรมลำดรเปนพระราชบัญญัติ จัดเปนบทมาดราดังน ๚

1 *mātrā*, numéroté 1.

(62d) อันใหกดเอาคะดีเปนแพ ๚ ๚๏—

กลับ: p. 63.

(64a) ๏ ถ้าคะดีนนเปนมหันตะไทยมีอยู่แต่ ๏ ประการ ประการหนึ่งว่าด้วยโครุมหันต (Bradley.[10], I, p. 83, l. 8)

4 *mātrā*, numérotés 2–5.

(72c)... ๚ กล่าวลักษณะดัดลำนวน (d) โดยมูลคะดี แลลำขดต้นในพระธรรมลำดรโดยสังเขปแต่เท่าน ๚ ๏— (73a) ๏ ก็นจักกล่าวลักษณะลักขิเณทะกลิ่อดัดพญาณนน มีบาฬีโดยคำภีรพระธรรมลำดรว่า (b) vimhāpanādikodhammo sakkhichinnotikittito paṭipakkhasabhāvoso ः (c) sakkhinopividhaṃsano ๚ แปลว่า yodhammo อันว่าสภาวะอันใด ः (d) vimhāpanādiko มีสภาวะจะยังพญาณให้สดุ้งตกใจ แลจะให้พิศวงงงงวย (74a) เปนต้น sakkhichinnotikittito อันมะในลำราจารย์ลำแดงชื่อว่าลักขิเณทกะ (b) sodhammo อันว่าสภาวนน paṭipakkhasabhāvo เปนข้าศึกแท้ ः (c) sakkhino แก่บุทคลอันเปนพญาณ vidhaṃsano จะกำจัดเสีย (d) sakkhino ซึ่งพญาณ ๚ ก็นจักกล่าวลำขดต้นนมในพระธรรมลำดร (74a) โดยพระราชบัญญัติ จัดเปนบทมาดราสืบ ๆ กันมาดังน ๚ ๏—

(b) ๑ ศุภมัสดุ ๑๙๒๑ ศกกุญชะสังวัจฉระวิษาคะมาเส่ศุกขปักเข ปาฏิบทติถียัง (c) เสาะวาระ พระบาทสมเดจ์บรมมหาจักรพรรดิรา เมศวรบรมนาถบรมบพิตรพระพุทธิ (d) เจ้าอยู่หัวผู้ทรงธรรมอันมหาประเธิรฐ์ มีพระราชบริหารดำหรัดไว้ให้รู้จักษณ (76a) เผชิญพญาณต์ต พญาณต์งน คือผู้มีคะดีเปนความด้วยกันในศุภาการะลาการ ๒ (b) แลมีถ้อยคำดิงทุเลาต์ตพญาณในสำนวนให้กดเอาคะดีเปนแพ้ คือว่าการะลา (c) การไปเผชิญพญาณถึงกลางหนทาง แล้วภาการะลาการกลับมา ๓ (d) อันึ่งผู้มีคะดียังมิได้นำการะลาการไปเผชิญ แลฝ่ายข้างหนึ่งลักลอบไปสู่หา (77a) เสรจาด้วยพญาณ ๒ อันึ่งผู้มีคะดีนำการะลาการไปเผชิญพญาณ ๒ (b) เมื่อลักษณการะลาการไปเผชิญอยู่นั้น แลฝ่ายข้างหนึ่งไปสู่หาเสรจา (c) ด้วยพญาณบนเรือนพญาณก็ดี ๓ อันึ่งแนะนำช่อเนื้อความสอนให้ (d) พญาณรับสมอ้างก็ดี ๔ อันึ่งมันบ๊กหน้าชำชื่อเสรจาชู้รู้กดำรามกัน ไชกล่าทับ (78a) พญาณว่าจะพึงเอาพญาณ จะให้ต้องขับเสียนโยยต์ ปรับไหมประการใดหมื่นให้ (b) พญาณรับสมอ้าง ๕ อันึ่งผู้มีอรรถคดีนำ การะลาการไปเผชิญพญาณกฎหมาย (c) เอาชื่อโดยอ้างแลมิได้นำไปเผชิญ ตามชื่อซึ่งกฎหมาย แลมันมาเผชิญพญาณ (d) คนอื่นก็ดี ๖ อันึ่งผู้มีอรรถคดีอ้างพญาณร่วมกัน แลมันคิดใจด้าน (79a) พญาณร่วมกันก็ดี ๗ อันึ่งผู้มีอรรถะคดีมันอ้างพญาณมันๆมิรับมันจะต่อ (b) พิสูทด้วยพญาณมันก็ดี ๘ ถ้าทวยราษฎรผู้มีอรรถะคดีถ้อยคำดิงทุเลาต์ตพะ (c) ญาณต้องด้วยบทพระไอยการห้ามประการนั้นล้วนเปนล้วแล้ว ให้กดเอาคะ(d) คีเปนแพ้ตามพระไอยการ ซึ่งท่านประหยัดไว้นั้นเถิด ๒ ๑—

8 divisions: 7 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–2, 4–8; un อัง numéroté 3.

(94a)...๛ กล่าวลักษณะคัดพยาณโดยมุขคดีแลลำขคดีมีในพระธรรม (b) ลำดรโดยสังเขปแล้วแต่เท่านี้ ๛ ทนจักกล่าวลักษณะธรรฎีกาคือประวิงความ (c) มีความมุขคดี ในพระธรรมลำดรโดยพระบาพีตงนาระ—(d)yocāyamakkhapravatto aṭṭhamevapravattaye sonaroaṭṭhapravaṭṭo aṭṭhakūto (95a) tivuccare ๛ แปลว่า yocaayamnaro อันว่าบุทคลผู้ใด akkhapravatto (b) ประวิงความไว้ pravattaye ประวิง aṭṭhameva ซึ่งเนื้อความแท้จริง (c) sonaro อันว่าบุทคลผู้นั้น aṭṭhapravatto แกล้งประวิงความไว้ (d) ให้ช้า vuccare อันมีในลำราจารยกล่าว aṭṭhakūṭoiti ชื่อว่าอัคฆฎะ (96a) ๏ ทนจักกล่าวลำขคดี อันมีในพระธรรมลำดรโดยบุราณราชกระษัตรจัดเปน (b)บทมาตราสั้น ๆ มาดังนี้

6 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–6.

(104a) กล่าวลักษณประวิงความโดยมุขคดีแลลำขคดีมีตามพระธรรมลำดรโดยสังเขปแล้ว (b) แต่เท่านี้ ๛ ทนจักกล่าวในลักษณอันชื่อว่าอัญะมัญะปะฏิภาศ : (c) คือแก้ต่างว่าต่างนั้นเปนมุขคดีอันมีในพระธรรมลำดรโดยบาพีว่า ๛— (d) yopatikathanasilo pativacanavaccano aññamaññapatibhāso :(105a)pittāputtādiyosoti ๛ แปลว่า yojano อันว่าบุทคลผู้ใด pittā(b)puttādi คือบิดาแลบุตรเปนต้น patikathanasilo มีปรกติร้องพร้องต่าง pativa(c)canavac-

cano มีปรกติให้การแก้ความต่างกันกับ sojano อันว่าบุคคลผู้นั้น aña (d)mañapaṭibhāso ชื่อว่าอัญญาปฏิภาณคือ แก้ ว่า ต่าง bhavati มี ฯ ทันจะ (106a) กล่าวเป็นสาธกะคัมภีร์ในพระธรรมสาครโดยมาตรา อันบุราณกระษัตรบัญญัติไว้สับ ๆ มาดังนี้ ฯะ

9 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–9.

(120b)...ฯ กล่าวลักษณะอัญญะปัญญะปฏิภาณคือ แก้ ว่า ต่างกันได้มี ได้โดย (c) มูลคดีแลสาธกคัมภีร์ในพระธรรมสาคร ดังเขียนแต่เท่านี้ ฯ๑—

1 *mātrā*, non numéroté.

VI กรมศักดิ์

Manque.

VII ศักดินาพลเรือน

Titres: *plat*: complètement effacé; *tranches*: ตำแหน่งนาพลเรือน. 1 vol., 181 pp. *Dépôt*: Vaj. *Cote*: ๕๗. *Provenance*: มุรธาธร. *Date d'entrée*: 31 mai 2467.

(L7)

1 (a) ๏ วัน ๘ ๑๐ ๑ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๖๗ ฉหฤดัพศักข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า

ขุนสารประเสริฐ
หมื่นสวัดิอักษรชุบ (b) ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า นายเทียรคราช ทาน ๑ ครั้ง
นายไตยาลักษณ

๑๐๐๐ ๏—

Contenu: (1)บานแพนก: 3–14; (2)ศักดินาพลเรือน: 15–181.

(15a) ๏ ศุภมัศดุ ๑๒๗๗ อุนักขสังวัจฉรกาลบักษยทัศมีตฤษถิยาทิตยวารพระบาท(b)สมเดจพระบรมโตรไลกนายกดิลกผู้เปนเจ้าแกล้มภูวมณฑลสกลอาณาจักรอัคบุรี(c)ไอศมบรมบพิตรพระพุทธิเจ้าอยู่หัวสถิตยณพระนั่งเบญจะรัตนมหาปราสาทไตยบุรพา(d)พิมุข จึงเจ้าพญาธรรมาธิบดีศรีรัตนมลเทียรบาล กราบบังคมทูล(16a)พระกรุณาว่า

พระอนุชาธิราช
พระราชกุมาร
พระราชบุตร
พระราชนัดา

ท่านางพระสนมแลจะได้ศักดิ์ดังฤๅ ๑๐๐๐ ๏—

(b) ๏ จึงพระบาทพระเจ้าอยู่หัว มีพระราชโองการตำรัสตรัสเหนือเกล้าเหนือ (c) กระหม่อมดังว่า

(35a) ๏ วัน ๑+๗ ค่ำ ประกาศนักสัตวอรรฐีศก ด้วยพระศรีมโหสถรับราชโองการ (b) ใส่เกล้าดังว่า คนเรวเดิรตราในกรมมหาดไทยพระราชทานชื่อไว้ (c) เปนคนเนย

(94d) ช่างเถา นา ๕๐

กลับ: p. 95

(96a) ๏ พระยุไทยธรรม์เจ้ากรม ศักดินา ๑๐๐๐ (Bradley[10]. I, p. 143, l. 22)

VIII ศักดินาทหารหัวเมือง

1

Titres: *plat*: complément effacé; *tranches*: นาทหารหัวเมือง. 1 vol., 161 pp. *Dépôt*: Vaj. *Cote*: ๘d. *Provenance*: มุรธาธร. *Date d'entrée*: 31 Mai 2467.

(L8)

Ligne différentielle:(1a) หมื่นสวัสดิอักษรชุบ

1(a) ๏ วัน๑ + ๑๓ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๒๒๗ ปีฉลูสัพศก ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า

นายเทียรคราช
นายชำนิโวหาร
นายโตอาลักษณ
} ทาน ๓ ครั้ง

หมื่นสวัสดิอักษรชุบ (b) ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า

ขอเดชะ ๒๐ ๘—

Contenu: ศักดินาทหารหัวเมือง

(82d) พัน หัว / ทาย } นาคละ ๓๐๐

กลับ: p. 83

(84a) ๏ หลวงอภัยเสนาเจ้ากรม นา ๘๐๐ (Bradley[10], I, p. 189, l. 7)

(132b) ๏ ศุภมัศดุ ๑๒๙๘ ศักสุนักขัตรวิชชาระกาลบัญเชิดศักดิ์ยศ

ยงอาทิตยวารพระบาท (c) สมเดจ์พระรามาธิบดีศรีบรมไตรโลกนารถ

บรมบพิตรพระพุทธิเจ้าอยู่หัว สถิตย (d) อยู่ณะพระที่นั่งเบญจรัตนมหา
ปราสาทโดยบุรภาภิมุกข เจ้าพญาธรรมาธิบดีศรี (133a) รัตนมหามน
เทียรบาล กราบบังคมทูลพระกรรุณาว่าตำแหน่งศักดินาหัวเมือง เอก โท ตรี จัตวา
(b) ปากใต้ฝ่ายเหนือนั้นจะทรงพระกรรุณาโปรดพระราชทานเปนประการ
ใด ๆ จึงพระบาท (c) สมเดจ์พระพุทธิเจ้าอยู่หัว มีพระราชโองการตรัส
เหนือเกล้า ๆ สั่งว่าเจ้าพญา (d) แลพญาพระหลวงเมืองผู้รั้งกรมการ
บันดารับราชการอยู่ณะหัวเมืองเอกโทตรี (134a) จัตวา ปากใต้ฝ่ายเหนือ ทั้งปวง
ให้ถือศักดินาตามพระราชประหยัดดังน

2

Titres: *plat*: ๏ พระสมุด พระ[ไอ]ยการ ตำแหน่งนาทหารหัวเมือง [...]๏—; *tranches*: นาทหารหัวเมือง. 1 vol., 160 pp. *Dépôt*: Justice. *Cote*: néant. *Provenance*: inconnue. *Date d'entrée*: inconnue.

(L8)

Ligne différentielle:(1a) หมื่นรักษา

1 (a) ๏ วัน ๓ ๑๓ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๖๗ ปีฉะหุดสัพศก ข้าพระ

พุทธิเจ้าหมื่นรัดชุบ (b) ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า { นายชำนิโวหาร / นายเทียรทราช / นายโคธาฉัตร } ทาน ๓ ครั้ง

ขอเดช ๖—

Contenu: ศักดินาทหารหัวเมือง.

(80d) พัน { หัว / ท้าย } นาคละ ๑๐๐

กฉัน, p. 81.

(82a) ๏ หลวงอไภยเสนาเจ้ากรม นา ๗๐๐ (Bradley[10], I, p. 189, l.7)

IX ลักษณกู้น์

1

Titres: *plat*: พระส[มุ]ค พระโอยการ กู้น์ [ฯะ๑—] *tranches*: กู้น์. 1 vol., 101 pp. *Dépôt*: Vaj. *Cote*: ๕๙. *Provenance*: มุรธาธร. *Date d'entrée*: 31 mai 2467.

(L9)

Ligne différentielle: (3a)...คุรุวาระ

1(a) ๏ วัน ๖ ๑๐ ค่ำจุลศักราช ๑๑๐๗ ปีฉลูสัพศก ข้าพระพุทธิ
จุนสารประเสริฐ
เจ้านายท้าว(b) ยาลักษณชุบ ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า นายเทียรคราช ทาน
นายโดยาลักษณ
๑ ครั้ง ขอเดชะ ฯะ ๑—

Contenu: (1) บานแพนก: 3–13; (2) ลักษณกู้น์: 14–101.

(14a)จักกล่าวลักษณกู้หนี้ยมต้น เปนมูลคดีวิวาทแก่กัน โดยเอกุ
ณะ(b)ดังษมุดมาติกา ๒๙ มีบาฬีว่า iṇapañcadhanaṃ ทรัพย์อันให้กู้ยืม
มีดอกเบี้ย(c)แลหาดอกเบี้ยมิได้แลแบ่ง (ได้ เสีย) ในดอกเบี้ยแลต้นสิ่งหนึ่ง
แลทั้งสิ้นโดยให้(d)กันกู้ยืมมีในเปนอันมาก ในพระธรรมสาตรกล่าวว่า
บิดา (พี่น้องพ้องพันธุ์ (15a)เมาตมิตรกู้หนี้ขายต่อแก่กันมีบาฬีดังนี้ mā-
tāpitāiṇṇakiyā puttāputta(b)iṇakkiyā ñātiñātiiṇṇakiyā

mittamittāiṇṇakiyā ฯ แปลเนื้อ(c)ความว่า mātāpitāiṇṇakiyā บิดามารดา กู้ทรัพยแก่บุตร ๆ กู้ทรัพย(d)แก่ บิดามารดา ประการ ๑ puttāputtaiṇakkiyā บุตรต่อ[บุตร]กู้ทรัพยแก่กัน (16a) ประการ ๑ ñātiñātiiṇṇakiyā ญาติต่อญาติกู้ทรัพกันประการ ๑(b)mittamittāiṇṇakiyā มิตรต่อมิตรกู้ทรัพยแก่กันประการ ๑ ประการเท่านี้ในพระ(c) ธรรมศาตร ท่านจักกล่าวสำแดง คือถึงความมีตามพระราชบัญญัติแห่งโบราณราช(d) กระษัตรสืบมาดังนี้ ฯ ศุภมัศดุ ๑๒๗๗ ชวดนักษัตรศก เดือนสิบเบด(17a)ขึ้นเก้าค่ำจันทวารกาลบริเฉทกำหนด มีพระบันทูลธุรสีหนาท อัมเดจ์บรม(b)บาทพระเจ้ามหาจักรพรรดิราชาธิราชรามาธิบดีศรีสินทรมหิทรบรมบพิตรพระพุทธเจ้า(c)อยู่หัว ให้ตราพระราชบัญญัติเผดียงโฆสนาแก่พระหลวงเมืองขุนมุนนายพฤฒา(d)มาตยราชมลตรีทุกกระทรวงทบวงการ ว่าแต่นี้สืบไปเบื้อหน้า ฯ

8 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–8.

(28a) กล่าวลักษณสำพันธญาติมิตรสนิทและห่างชายแลกู้หนี้ยืมสินกันได้ ๘ มาตราเท่านี้ ฯ

11 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–11.

(38d) กล่าวลักษณ ผัว เมย กู้ยืมด้วยกันแล ผัว เมย กู้ ผัว เมย มีรู้แล

ผัว เมีย ตาย ผัว เมีย ยังโดย (39a) ดังเขมได้ ๑๑ มาตราเท่านี้

3 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–3.

(42c) กล่าวลักษณะ [กู้ห]นี้ยมสันกันแลเอา(d)ชื่อผู้อื่นเข้าในกรมทน โดยดังเขมได้ ๑ มาตรา ๆ ๑—

6 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–6.

(50d) กล่าวลักษณะกู้หนี้ถอยสันกันเข้าชื่อในกรม[ทัน] หลายคน โดยดังเขมได้ ๖ มาตราเท่านี้ ๆ

3 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–3.

(54d) แลนายเงินมั่นมีรู้ด้วย ท่านว่ามันสมคบด้วยทาษท่าน แม้นทาษนั้นมีสิ่งสิ้น :

กลับ : p. 55.

(56a) ให้เอาสิ่งนั้นไช้หนี้ท่านแต่คน แลถอยเบี้ยนั้นให้ลดเสีย ถ้ามันไม่มีสิ่งจะให้จะ (Bradley[10], I, p. 213, l. 16)

(56c) กล่าวลักษณะกู้หนี้ถอยสันกันเอาชื่อทาษใส่ในกรมท้นแลให้ทาษท่านกู้(d)โดยดังเขมได้ ๑ มาตราเท่านี้ ๆ

2 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–2.

(59b) กล่าวลักษณะกู้หนี้ท่านยังมิทันไช้ลูกหนี้ซึ่งมีชื่อในกรมตายได้ ๕ มาตรา ๆ ๕—

5 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–5.

(65d) กล่าวลักษณกู่หนึ่งถอยสั้นกันแล้วแลเอาคันเปนตอกได้ ๕ มาตรา เท่าน ฯ :

6 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–6.

(73c) กล่าวลักษณกู่หน ถอยสั้นกันแลเจ้าหน้ายยกตัวกู่หน ได้ ๒ มาตราเท่าน ฯ :

2 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–2.

(75a) กล่าวลักษณกู่หนึ่งถอยสั้นกันแลมีผู้ ค้า / ประกัน / นำถาม } โดยสังเขบได้ ๓ มาตราเท่าน ฯ :

3 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–3.

(78a) ฯ กล่าวลักษณจำนำแลถอย เงิน / เขา } ไว้แก่กันเปนตอกโดยสังเขบ(b)ได้ ๓ มาตราเท่าน

3 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–3.

(82b) ฯ กล่าวลักษณกู่หนึ่งถอยสั้นหลายแห่งสั้นฉันพันกันตัวได้ ๗ (c) มาตราเท่าน

7 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–7.

(90a) ฯ กล่าวลักษณกู่หนึ่งยมสั้นแลต่อผู้เจ้าหน้าได้ ๙ (b) มาตราเท่าน ฯ :

9 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–9.

(101) กล่าวลักษณกู่หนึ่งยมสั้นเปนปกิณณะกะเรียบรายได้ ๙ มาตราเท่าน ฯ :

2

Titres: plats: ๏ พระสมุ[ด พระโอษการลักษณ]กูหัน. *tranches*: กูหัน. 1 vol., 99 pp. *Dépôt*: Justice. *Cote*: néant. *Provenance*: inconnue. *Date d'entrée*: inconnue.

(L9x)

Ligne différentielle: (3a)...กุรุวาระบริเฉทกาล

1 (a) ๏ วัน ๑ ๑๐ ค่ำ จุลศักราช ๑๑๖๗ ปีฉลูสัพศก ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้าหมื่นทิพ(b)ไม้ครีชุบ ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า จุนสารประเสริฐ นายเทียรราช นายโดยอาลักษณ ทาน ๑ ครั้ง ฉบเสร็จ ๒ ฉบ

Contenu: (1) บานแพนก: 3–13; (2) ลักษณกูหัน: 14–99

(30d) ๏ กล่าวลักษณกูหันถอดส่งกันเข้าชื่อในกรมหลายคนโดยส่งเขบได้ ๑ มาตราทาน ๓

กลับ: p. 51.

(32a) ๏ มาตราหนึ่ง เจ้าเงินเอาชื่อทายทา ยา เข้าใจสารกรมทันกูหัวพยาน ๒ ฉบ (Bradley[10], I, p. 212, l. 22)

X, 1. ลักษณผัวเมีย, tome I.

Titres: *plat*: พระสมุดพ[ระ]ไอยการลักษณ ผัว เมีย ๑; *tranches* ผัวเมีย ๑. 1 vol., 110 pp. *Dépôt*: Vaj. *Cote*: ๖๐. *Provenance*: มุรธาธร. *Date d'entrée*: 31 mai 2467.

(L10.1)

1 (a) ๏ วันอาทิตย์ ๑๐ ค่ำจุลศักกะราช ๑๒๐๗ ปีฉลูสัพศก ข้าพระพุทธิ ชุนสาระประเสริฐ เจ้า นายชุม (b) ยาลักษณชุบ ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า นายเทียรราช นายโดยาลักษณ ทาน ๑ ครั้ง ขอเดชะ ๑—

Contenu: (1) บานแพนก: 3–15b; (2) ลักษณผัวเมีย: 15c–110.

(15c) ๏ ในลักษณ ผัวเมียนี้ มีบาฬีในคำภีร์พระธรรมสาตร กล่าวดังนี้ ๒ (d) jāyampatikassavipattibhedā แปลเนื้อความว่า vipattibhedā อันว่า (16a) ประเภทแห่งผัวเมียอันจะบังเกิดอัปกร เปนมูลวิวาทต่างๆ นักปราชพึง (b) รู้ โดยสาธะคดีมีประการอันมาก อันบุราณราชกระษัตร มีพระราชบัญญัติ (c) จัดเปนบทมาตราลำดับๆ มาดังนี้ ๒๑—

(d) ๏ ศุภมัศดุ ๑๙๐๔ ศักราชนักสัตวเดือน ๑๑ ขึ้น ๕ ค่ำจันท (17a) วาระ มีพระราชโองการมานะพระบันทูลพระราชอาชญา ถึงเดจพระเจ้า

รามา(b)ขึ้นดำรัสบรมจักรพรรดิราชาบพิตรเปนเจ้าอยู่หัว ให้ตราพระราช
กฤษฎีกาบัญญัติ(c)ด้านับเผดียงแก่เสนา พฤฒามาตยราชมนตรีภิริ
โยธามุข ทุกกระทรวง(d)ทบวงการทหารพลเรือนซ้ายขวา ประชาราษฎร
ทั้งหลายสมลังกัดพรรคอันนี้(18a)ในแว่นแคว้นพระนครศรีอยุทธยา มหา
ดิหลกภพนพรัตนราชธานีบุรีรมย ตั้งแต่(b)นี้สืบไปเบื้องหน้า ๆ อันว่า
ลักษณเมียนั้นมี ๓ ประการ ๆ หนึ่งหญิงอันบิดา (c) มารดาทุ่มเทให้เปน
เมียชาย ได้ชื่อว่าเปนเมียกลางเมือง ๑ ประการหนึ่ง(d)ชายขอหญิงมา
เลี้ยงเปนอนุภรรยาหม่อมเมียหลวงลงมา ได้ชื่อว่าเปนเมียกลางนอก(19a)
๑ ประการหนึ่งหญิงใดมีทุกข์ยาก ชายช่วยไถ่ได้มาแหนหมดหน้าเลี้ยงเปน
(b) เมีย ได้ชื่อว่าเมียกลางทาษี ๑ ถ้าชายใดทำชู้ด้วยเมียกลางเมืองให้
ไหม(c) จงเดิมโดยพระราชกฤษฎีกา ถ้าชายใดทำชู้ด้วยเมียกลางนอก
ให้ไหมโดย(d)พระราชกฤษฎีกาเดิม ทำ ๕ ส่วนยกเสียส่วน ๑ เอา ๔ ส่วน
(20a) ถ้าชายใดทำชู้ด้วยเมียกลางทาษี ให้ไหมโดยพระราชกฤษฎีกา ทำ
๕ ส่วนยก(b)เสีย ๒ ส่วนเอาสามส่วน ส่วนหญิงอันร้ายให้เอาเฉลวปะหน้า
ทลดอกฉบา(c)แดงสองหู ร้อยดอกฉะบาเปนมาโดยใส่ คีศะ คอ ให้
นายฉะมองตีฆ้องนำหน้า ประ(d)จานสามวัน ถ้าจะไถ่โทษประจาน ให้ไถ่
ตามกระเดียรอายุศมหญิงเปนข้าหย้าข้างหลวง (21a) ถ้าชายผัวมันยังรัก
เมียมันมิให้ประจานใช้ ให้เอาสิ่นไหมเข้าพระคลังหลวง ถ้าหญิง(b)นั้นยัง
ทำชู้ด้วยชายผู้เดียวนั้น ถึงสองถ่าเล่าใช้ให้ไหมทวีคูน ถ้าทำชู้(c)เปลี่ยน
ชายอื่น ให้ไหมชายชู้นั้นโดยปรถมผิดเมีย ส่วนหญิงนั้นให้(d)โกนคีศะ
เปนตะแลงแกง เอาขันข้าหย่างประจาน แล้วให้ทเวนรอบตลาดแล้วให้ทวน

(22a) ด้วยอาวุธหนัก ๒๐ ที ถ้าผัวมันยังรักเมียมัน แลมิให้ลงโทษแก่เมียมันไซ้ ให้เอา (b) ตีนไหมเข้าพระคลังหลวง ถ้าหญิงนั้นมันยังทำชู้ด้วยชายอื่นเล่าไซ้ ท่านมิให้ไหม (c) ชายชู้นั้นเลย ส่วนหญิงนั้นให้ลงโทษดุจเดียวแล้วให้ลักรูป ชาย / หญิง ไว้ในแก้ม ๒ (d) ถ้าชายผัวมันยังรักเมียมัน แลมิให้ลงโทษไซ้ให้ลักทั้ง หญิง / ชาย นั้นแล ๒

(23a) ๏ อันว่าลักษณผิดภรรยาท่านยังมีถึงข้าเรานี้ ๔ ประการ ประการหนึ่งชายยุดมือถือนม (b) หยอกเมียท่าน ประการหนึ่งชายนั่งท่านหมอยู่ ชั้นไปหาเมียท่านถึงในเรือน ประการ (c) หนึ่งไปหาเมียท่านในที่ลับ ประการหนึ่งชายลักลอบพูดจาด้วยเมียท่าน ประการ (d) หนึ่งไปหาเมียท่านถึงในห้องที่นอน ๔ ประการนี้ ได้ชื่อว่าผิดภรรยาท่านยังมีถึงข้าเรา (24a) ให้ปรับไหมโดยอันดับ

4 *mātrā*, numérotés 1–4.

๏ กล่าวลักษณเมีย ๓ ประการแลปรับโทษผิดเมียโดย (25a) สังเขปแต่เท่านี้

3 *mātrā*, numérotés 5–7.

๏ กล่าวลักษณแห่งหญิงแพศยาปรับ (31c) มิได้ โดยสังเขปแต่เท่านี้

26 *mātrā*, numérotés 8–33.

(56d) มันเกิดลุกด้วยมัน มันนอกใจมีชู้ให้ไหมชายชู้แลหญิงนั้น โดยนัยอนุภรรยา ๏—

กลับ: p. 57.

(58a) ๑/๔ มาตราหนึ่ง หญิงใดว่าหญิงอื่นมักผัวตน แลวานี้น้องลูกหลานเพื่อนฝูงไปช่วยด่า (Bradley[10], I, p. 233, l. 7)

8 *mātrā*, numérotés 34–41.

(67b) ๏ กล่าวลักษณมูลวิวาทแห่งผัวเมีย ด้วยเหตุต่างต่างโดยย่อเขบ แต่เท่านี้ ๘

7 *mātrā*, numérotés 42–48.

(75a) ๏ กล่าวลักษณ มูลวิวาทด้วยทาษภริยาโดยย่อเขบแต่เท่านี้ ๘

8 *mātrā*, numérotés 49–56.

(91c) ๏ กล่าวลักษณ ผัวเมีย วิวาทร้างกัน โดยย่อเขบยุคิเท่านี้

5 *mātrā*, numérotés 57–61.

(99d) ๏ กล่าวลักษณ ผัวเมียวิวาทกันเกินเลย พ่อตาแม่ยาย โดยย่อเขบแต่เท่านี้

2 *mātrā*, numérotés 62–63.

.....๏ กล่าวลักษณ ผัว(104b)ไปค้าแดไปราชการกำหนดให้หญิงอยู่ถ้า โดยย่อเขบแต่เท่านี้ ๖—

6 *mātrā*, numérotés 64–69.

(110d) ใช้ ท่านว่าให้กระทำตามหนังสือสัญญาทานบน ซึ่งท่านให้ไว้แก่ท่านนั้น ๔— (Bradley[10], I, p. 244, l. 15)

X. 2. ลักษณผัวเมีย, tome 2.

Titres: *plat*: ๏ พร[...]มุค[.....] ผัว เมีย ๒ ๖๑— *tranches*: ผัวเมีย ๒ 1 vol., 102 pp. *Dépôt*: Vaj. *Cote*: ๒๐. *Provenance*: มุรธาธร. *Date d'entrée*: 31 mai 2467.

(L10.2)

1 (a) วันอ ๗ ๑๑ ค่ำจุลศักกะราช ๑๑๐๗ ปีฉลูสัพศก ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า นายเทียรฆราช นายชุมอาลักษณชุบ (b) ข้าพระพุทธิเจ้า นายโดอาลักษณ นายปานอาลักษณ ทาน ๒ ครั้ง ขอเดชะ ฯ

Contenu: (3a–102) ก. ผัวเมีย à partir de ๓๐ มาตราหนึ่ง (Bradley[10], I, p. 244, l. 16)

(4a) ๏....ศุภมัศดุ ๑๙๐๕ ศักกะหลุนักสัด (b) เดือน ๑๐ ขึ้น แปดค่ำ พุทวาระ สมเดจ์พระเจ้ารามาธิบดีศรีรวมจักรพรรดิราชา (c) บรมบพิตร พระพุทธเจ้าอยู่หัวเสดจ์ในบังอาศน์ โดยทิศประจิมมหาสระ (d) จึงพระสุภาวดีศรีมดหาดุราช บังคมทูลพระกรรุณาด้วยจุนไกรณราย (5a) แดแม่นางเกิดบุตรพรมนาจารย สมรศด้วยกันแลทำบริคนให้กันไว้ว่า (b) เดิมแม่นางเกิดมข้าหญิงชายช้างม้าโคกระบือ แก้วแหวนเงินทองผ้าผ่อนแพร (c) พรรณสรรพทรัพย์สิ่งของทั้งปวงเปนเงิน ๕ ส่วนสิ่นเดิมข้าจุนไกรณรายเอาไป (d) เหนึ่งเบี้ยเดี่ยว ส่วนสิ่นเดิมแม่นางเกิดแต่งไปค้าเมืองนอกเดี่ยว ยังแต่ (6a) สิ่นสมรศแดเขาจอยากันดังนี้ จะควรประการใด ข้าพระ

พุทธเจ้าขอเรียนพระราช(b)ปรนณิบัติ จึงมีพระราชโองการมาณพระบันทูล ให้มุขมนตรีมุขแสนักปราชราชบัณฑิตย(c)ทั้งหลาย พิภากษาให้แต่ง พระราชกฤษฎีกา ไว้สืบไปเมื่อหน้า ฯ

3 *mātra*, numérotés 72–74.

(17c) ๏ ศุภมัศดุ ๑๑๖๑ ชวดนักษัตรฉอศก ฉะฤณมาศกาลบักขัศมีดิถีจันทวาระ(d)กาลบริเฉทกำหนด พระบาทสมเดจ์ บรมนาถ บรมบพิตรอดิศัรธรรมฤกมหา(18a)ราชาธิราช พระพุทธเจ้าอยู่หัวผู้ ดำรงพิภพฉัตรราชกรุงเทพทวาราวะดีศรีอยุธยามหาดิหลก(b)ภพนพรัตน ราชธานีบูรีรม เสดจออกณพระที่นั่งบุษบกมาลามะหาจักรพรรดิพิมาน พร้อม(c)ด้วยพฤฒามาตยราชกระวีนนครี มุขฉุกฉุนทั้งหลายทรงพระกรุณา หะฆาระ พระราช(d)กฤษฎีกาบทพระอายการ ลักษณผัวเมีย ว่าด้วย ฉุนโกรธรายกับแม่นางเกิด (19a) บุตรพรหมนาจารยจะอย่ากัน มีบทพระ อายการเดิมไว้ว่าถ้า ชาย / หญิง จะเลี้ยงกันเปน(b)ผัวเมีย แม่นมีสันเดิมมาก น้อยเท่าใด ให้ทำหนังสือบริคนไว้ต่อกันทั้งสอง(c)ฝ่ายจึ่งจะเชื่อฟังได้ ครั้นจะอย่ากันก็ให้แบ่งบันสิ่นเดิม สิ่นสมรศิตามมี(d)หนังสือบริคนนั้น จึ่งมีพระราชโองการมาณพระบันทูล ฐะสังหนาท(20a)ท้าวมหาอมรนครี มุขฉุกฉุน ผู้พิภากษาก็จดต้อนาประชาราษฎรทั้งปวง ว่าซึ่งมี(b)บท พระอายการอันโบราณราชกระษัตรบัญญัติไว้ ให้แบ่งบันสิ่นโดยบริคน นั้น : (c)เหนเปนยุติธรรมอยู่ จะเลิกถอนเสียมิชอบให้คงไว้ ครั้นจะให้ใช้ หนังสือ (d) บริคนตามบทพระอายการ บุราณเก่าทวยราษฎรทุกวันนี้

บิดา มารดา ประกอบ บุตรา บุตร (21a) ให้มีสามีภรรยาแล้วให้ วิญญาณกะทรัพย์ อวิญญาณกะทรัพย์ เป็นทุน ก็แต่ผู้เลี้ยงผู้แก่มานั่งรู้เห็น(b)เป็นต้นนับ จะได้ทำหนังสือบริคนให้ไว้แก่กัน ตามประเพณีบุราณนั้น(c)หามิได้ หย่างทำเนียมบุราณเสื่อมสูญไปช้านานแล้ว ครั้นจะประกาศ(d)แก่ราษฎรให้รู้ทำหนังสือบริคนดังแต่ก่อนนั้น ก็เป็นอันยากที่ให้ใช้(22a)ตามกระบิดเมืองทำเคยใช้มา จะไม่มีหนังสือบริคนก็ตามเถิด ถ้าแลเขาผัวเมีย(b)จะอย่ากันจะบันสินเดิมสินสมรสนั้น ให้แพ่งพิจารณาโดย ลัธ ธรรม ได้ทรัพย์(c)ฝ่าย ชาย หญิง มากน้อยเท่าใดใช้ ก็ให้แบ่งบันตามส่วนสิน เดิม สมรส โดยพระอาย (d)การอันบุราณราชกระษัตร บัญญัติให้แบ่งบันนั้นเถิด ๚

(23a) ๏ กล่าวลักษณ มูลวิวาทแห่ง ผัว เมีย จะอย่ากัน โดยสังเขบแต่เท่านี้ (b) ๏ อันว่าหญิง อันชายมิได้คำนับสู่ขอ แลชายกระทำทุราจารให้มีโทษนั้นมี ๓ (c) ประการ māturakkhitā ประการหนึ่งคือหญิงอันอยู่ด้วยมารดาๆหากรักษา (d) piturakkhitā ประการหนึ่งคือหญิงอันอยู่ด้วยบิดาๆหากรักษา mātāpiturakkhitā(24a) ประการหนึ่งคือหญิงอันอยู่ด้วย บิดา มารดา ๆหากรักษา gotarakkhitā ประการหนึ่งคือ(b)หญิงอันอยู่ด้วยโคตรๆหากรักษา bhāturakkhitā ประการหนึ่งคือหญิงอันอยู่ด้วย พี่ชาย พี่สาว ๆ(c)หากรักษา ñātirakkhitā ประการ

หนึ่ง คือหญิงอันอยู่ด้วยญาติๆหากรักษา sārakkhā (d) ประการหนึ่ง คือหญิงอันอยู่ด้วยท่านผู้ใดผู้หนึ่ง ท่านหากรักษาป้องกันไว้ : (25a) หญิง ๗ ประการนี้ ถ้าชายผู้ใดมิได้คำนับสู่ขอ แลลุกอาจ์ไปกระทำทุราจาร หญิง(b)ก็ดี แลชายไปลอบลักท้าชู้ แลข่มขืนแลชักพาหญิงไปก็ดี ท่านว่าชายนั้นมีโทษ(c)ถ้าหญิงนั้นไปหาชาย ถึงเคหะสถานบ้านเรือนชาย ยอมให้ชายท้าชู้ด้วยใช้ แลจะ(d)กล่าว โทษแก่ชายนั้นมิได้เลย

4 *mātrā*, numérotés 75–78.

๏ (28a) กล่าวลักษณหญิง ๗ ประการแลปรับโทษ (b) ชายข่มขืนหญิงโดยส่งเชบแต่เท่านี้ ฯะ

14 *mātrā*, numérotés 79–90, 100–101.

๏ (43d) กล่าวลักษณ หญิง / ชาย ลอบท้าชู้มิได้สู่ขอ (44a) แ(ชาย พอลวงหญิงเปนมุลวิวาท โดยส่งเชบแต่เท่านี้ ฯะ

9 *mātrā*, numérotés 102–110.

(54d) แลจะมิให้หญิงนั้นแก่ชาย แปรปรากหลากคำหาที่กล่าวมิได้ ครั้นชายผู้อื่นมา

กลับ: p. 55.

(56d) สู่ขอก บิดา / มานดา หญิงนั้นก็รับ กลับกินวันหมากชายนั้นเล่า ถ้าชายทั้งสองเปน (Bradley[10], I, p. 255. l. 7)

11 *mātrā*, numérotés 111–122.

๏ (73c) กล่าวลักษณ แห่งชายสู่ชอ (d) ลูกสาว / หลานสาว ท่านโดย ดังเขบแต่เท่านี้ ๚

13 *mātrā*, numérotés 123–135.

๏.....กล่าว (91c) ลักษณ หญิงชายสมรักกลับภากันไปโดย ดังเขบแต่เท่านี้ ๚

6 *mātrā*, numérotés 136–141.

(102d) ๏ กล่าวลักษณแห่งบัตามานตานหญิงแลชายอันให้เกิดมูลวิวาท โดยดังเขบแต่เท่านี้ ๏—

(à suivre)

Postage Stamps of Siam

His Majesty King Prachadipok came to the throne on the 26th day of November 1925 and naturally the question of an issue of postage stamps, with the portrait of the new King, was brought forward.

For various reasons the matter was delayed until the year 1927 and the stocks of stamps of the previous issues continued in circulation.

The design for the new issue was put up for competition under a special committee presided over by His Royal Highness Prince Narisara Nuvattivongs (an uncle of H. M. the King).

The award for the Stang values was given to Khun Thep Laksonlekha (La Hutaphon), an official in the Ministry of the Royal Household, for the best design.

The order was placed with the Firm of Messrs. Waterlow & Sons of London on the 18th July 1927 for the following values :—

2	Stang	Brown	3,000,000
3	„	Green	5,000,000
5	„	Purple	6,500,000
10	„	Red	5,000,000
15	„	Blue	1,000,000
25	„	Orange on Black	500,000
50	„	Black on Orange	500,000

Head in first colour.

These stamps are engraved and printed in sheets of 100 on paper without watermark and are perforated 12½ by means of a line machine, the margins being perforated right through.

The full sheet contains 100 stamps.

Deliveries commenced in March and were completed in May 1928.

At the same time the Baht (Tical) values were considered and at first it was thought that the design for the Stang values should be followed for these higher values, but later His Majesty expressed the wish that the size should be larger and a design by Captain Mom Chao Gunvudhi Prija, an official in the Technical Office of the Royal State Railways of Siam, was adopted.

The design was a modification of the one submitted by Khun Thep Laksonlekha, the designer of the Stang values.

The order was placed with the Firm of Messrs. Waterlow & Sons, London, at the same time as that for the Stang values.

Values ordered :—

1	Baht	Slate-grey on Slatish Blue	500,000
2	„	Sepia on Deep Rose	500,000
3	„	Slate-grey on Yellowish Green	500,000
5	„	Greyish Slate on Deep Mauve	500,000
10	„	Purple on Olive-brown	100,000
20	„	Deep Orange on Brown on Greenish Slate	100,000
40	„	Sepia on Dull Greenish Blue	100,000

These stamps are recess printed on white wove paper without watermark and are perforated 12½ with a line machine.

The total quantity of 2,300,000 was delivered in Bangkok on the 2nd May 1928.

Post Cards.

When the order for postage stamps was placed it was considered advisable to have Post Cards with stamps printed with the same design as for the Stang values of the postage issue and the order was given to Messrs. Waterlow & Sons of London on the 18th July 1928 as follows:—

2	Stang	Single	White Card	Brown	600,000
3	„	„	do.	Green	3,000,000
10	„	„	Pink Card	Red	200,000
10	„	Reply Paid	do	Red	10,000

The delivery of these Post Cards commenced in April and was completed in July 1928.

Air Mail Issue.

Owing to the shortage of stamps of the 5 Stang value, the 5 Stang Air Mail stamp was used for ordinary postage thus creat-

ing a shortage of this value and as the stocks of 10 Stang and 15 Stang had also been depleted, an order was placed with Messrs. Waterlow & Sons of London on the 26th March 1928.

The design, colours and printing was to be exactly similar to those supplied by the same firm in 1925 but the perforation was to be altered to 12½ instead of 14.

The quantities ordered were as follows:—

5 Stang	Green	2,000,000
10 "	Orange on Black	2,000,000
15 "	Carmine	500,000

Delivery of these Air Mail stamps was made in June and July 1928.

Early in 1928 it was decided that telegrams should be franked with a stamp and a value of 80 Stang was considered desirable and an order was placed with Messrs. Waterlow & Sons, London, on the 19th July 1928 for this value which was to be exactly similar to the Stang values of the current issue.

Head in Black on pale blue.

The quantity ordered was 3,000,000.

The deliveries took place in October and December 1928.

This value was issued to the Public on the 15th November 1928.

Owing to an unexpected increase in the use of 2 Stang and 15 Stang stamps, it was found necessary early in 1929 to obtain

fresh supplies of these values and an order was therefore placed with Messrs. Waterlow & Sons of London.

2 Stang	Brown	4,000,000
15 „	Blue	1,000,000

Deliveries were made in July and August 1929.

Postal Stationery of Siam.

The Post and Telegraph Department placed an order for Postal Stationery with Messrs. Waterlow & Sons of London on the 30th April 1929 as follows:—

1,000,000 Envelopes 6¼" x 3.3/16".

These envelopes are lithographically printed on white paper with the Siamese Emblem the "Garuda" in red above a Post Horn at the top left hand corner and have an embossed 15 Stang stamp of the current issue in white on blue at the right hand top corner.

Delivery at the rate of 25,000 per week commenced by the arrival in Bangkok of the first consignment in early November 1929.

Owing to the fact that special paper had to be made for these envelopes, the printers found that they would have a surplus of paper and therefore asked for sanction to print a further 100,000 envelopes.

The Post and Telegraph Department authorised these extra 100,000 envelopes on 4th November 1929.

A further supply of 2 Stang stamps of the Air Mail issue were ordered on the 20th November 1929.

2,000,000 Purple on Yellow.

Book Review.

Bei den Urwaldzwergen von Malaya by *Father Paul Schebesta*, published by F. A. Brockhaus-Leipzig 1929. 278 pages with 141 illustrations and one map in colours, now translated into English under the title of "Among the Forest Dwarfs of Malaya."

Father Schebesta is co-editor of the well known scientific journal "Anthropos" (which was started and edited for many years by the famous philologist, the Reverend Father William Schmidt, now director of the Lateran Missionological Museum) published in St. Gabriel, Moedling near Vienna. In the above mentioned book he gives a fascinating and thoroughly instructive account of his travels and research work, undertaken during the years of 1924-25, among the—alas!—now fast disappearing pygmy peoples of the wilds of the Malay Peninsula.

The districts visited by Father Schebesta included the States of Kedah, Perak, Kelantan and Pahang besides parts of the Siamese Circles of Patani, Nakon Srithamaraj (Patalung) and Puket (Trang). As the Semang pygmies are thus met with also in Siamese territory, the book under review presents an unusual interest for Siam.

It is true we have learnt much about these mysterious little folk through such standard works as *Messrs. W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden's Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* which, for many years still to come, must remain the groundwork of all studies on the primitive populations of this part of the world. But Father Schebesta's book contains so much new and intimate knowledge, especially from the psychological and religious points of view, gathered by actually living among the Semang in their forest camps, that it must be classified as a worthy counterpart to "Pagan Races". His book will therefore rank with the latter as a first class document of precise information, pertaining to the life of these sympathetic and highly interesting dwarf people, which no serious student of anthropology, ethnology, ethnography or comparative religion can afford to ignore.

The author brought special qualifications to undertake such stu-

dies, having for several years worked as a missionary on the Upper Zambesi in Central Africa, and was thus well acquainted with life in the great forest as well as with the train of ideas of primitive people. It is no wonder, therefore, that the results of his research work among the Semang have been so excellent.

The impulse to undertake the special study of the Semang Negritos of Malaya came, however, from Father W. Schmidt, who already in 1910 in his epoch making work on the pygmy races of the world had made an "Aufruf zur Pygmaenentforschung". (Appeal for research work among the pygmies). Before giving a résumé of the contents of Father Schebesta's book, and the results arrived at by him, it may, therefore, be useful to give an outline of the facts and ideas on the pygmy question as set forth by Father Schmidt in his above mentioned work. Apart from his being for many years the editor of "Anthropos" Father Schmidt's name will be well known to students of Indo-Chinese philology through his admirable books on "*Die Mon-Khmervoelker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Voelkern Zentralasiens und Austronesien*" (The Mon-Khmer people a connection between the Central Asiatic and Austronesian peoples), and on several other Austronesian languages.

The first mentioned work of Father Schmidt bears the title of "*Die Stellung der Pygmäenvoelker in Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen*" (The position of the pygmy peoples in human evolution), and was published in Stuttgart in 1910. It was a link in the research work on the various human races taken up by the well known savant Prof. Georg Buschan, one of Germany's leading ethnologists, assisted by a host of other German, Austrian and Czecho-Slovach scientists, which has resulted in a series of important publications treating of the primitive races.

The essence of Father Schmidt's hypothesis about the pygmy peoples of the earth is briefly that they do *not*, as has sometimes been maintained, represent a degenerate type (in German "Kümmerformen"), but rather a child stage in the evolution of man (a belief first suggested by the famous Swiss anatomist J. Kollmann in Basle). Every large-bodied human race has thus been preceded by a corres-

ponding small-bodied one, and the present dwarf peoples are the last remnants of the small-bodied primitive races of the earth and are therefore our true ancestors. By pygmies must be understood races whose average height does not exceed 150 cm. True pygmies are only found in Central Africa in the persons of the Akkas, Wambutti and Batwa, etc., (the Bushmen are not considered true dwarfs, being a mixed race), in Asia, on the Andaman Islands, in Malaya in the persons of our Semang and in the Philippines in the persons of the Aeta Negritos. To these localities may perhaps now be added Australasia where, during recent years, a Dutch scientific expedition is said to have discovered a large pygmy population living in the interior of the western part of Papua (New Guinea). Figures as high as 300,000 have been given as the number of these newly discovered dwarf people. However, until further and more precise information has been obtained it is perhaps permissible to doubt the accuracy of these figures.

Father Schmidt is furthermore of the opinion that all the various pygmy peoples are closely related, in fact that they belong to one and the same primitive stratum of humanity. As reasons for this hypothesis are given the uniform physical traits of the various pygmy peoples, who all are brachycephalics. When dolichocephalics or mesocephalics occur, this must be taken to represent mixtures of true dwarfs with dolichocephalic or mesocephalic big-bodied races. Again all the pygmies have woolly hairs and are generally typically negroid in appearance. The dwarf-like Weddahs of Ceylon, who are wavy haired, most probably represent a mixture of a curly haired brachycephalic pygmy people and a dolichocephalic Dravidian people. With the exception of the Central African pygmies, whose skins are covered with short light coloured hairs, all pygmy peoples are smooth skinned.

Other typical physical features of all dwarfs are the large size of their hind quarters, their proportionally short lower limbs, their broad shoulders, and their small and fine hands and feet. The colour of their skin is generally very dark or chocolate brown, with the exception of the African pygmies (of the Congo forest), who may

almost be called light coloured. The shape of the head of the pygmies has already been mentioned as brachycephalic. The front is, however, not, as should have been anticipated among such primitive people, flat or receding but often vertical or even protruding. The superciliary ridges are not by any means heavy or prominent (though Father Schebesta mentions having met a Semang with very heavy superciliary ridges) as for instance is the case with the skulls of the Neanderthal man and the various species of the so-called human apes.

With regard to the nose of the pygmies it is to be noted that its bridge is very flat, even sunk in, the nose itself being short with broad nostrils that turn outward.

The mouth is somewhat coarse and in shape tends to be snoutish (prognathous), though this is not an outstanding trait, while the chin recedes strongly, even to be frequently almost unmarked, as Skeat has observed by the Semang.

The sockets of the eye, as well as the eyes themselves, are round and rather large.

The above mentioned common physical traits for all the various pygmy races have nothing to do with the so-called "Kümmerformen"—poverty types—but rather point to a common origin. The modern students of the dwarf peoples are now almost all agreed that, in view of their pronounced infantile features, these small forest people most probably represent a child stage in the human evolution.

Another feature that points to the pygmies belonging to an older type of the human race, than even the Australians and the Neanderthal men, is their brachycephalic heads (the shape of head of *all* new born children) in contrast with the partly excessive dolichocephalic skulls of the latter.

Father Schmidt lays stress on the remarkable likeness between the various pygmy races and the Mongolic-Arctic ones, such

as their common brachycephalic head form, the snub nose, pronounced cheek bones, receding chin, their short nether limbs and their low stature. The only profound difference is the hair which is curly among the pygmies and lank among the Mongol-Arctic races, a difference which, so far, it is not easy to account for. It may be added that the eye fold of the Mongol races represents a childish trait too (as indeed does their whole appearance, especially of the males, right up till they are well advanced in years). There seems therefore, to be a possibility of relationship between the pygmies and the Mongolic-Arctic races. Father Schmidt is furthermore of the opinion that the Bushmen of South Africa, the Bainings of New Pommern and the, now extinct, Tasmanians form a further stage of development from the pygmy races.

That the pygmies must belong to one of the oldest races of the world—if not the oldest—is indicated not only by the fact that they always consider themselves as the primitive owners of the land in which they live, but by the further fact that this is admitted readily by the surrounding big-bodied races who have occupied the major part of their heritage. It is more than probable that the pygmies originally peopled our Indo-Chinese peninsula together with certain medium sized, wavy haired and dolicho-mesocephalic headed tribes vaguely called Indonesians and that they were driven into the fastnesses of the virgin forest, or absorbed, by the immigration of the Malay and Mon-Khmer peoples. The latter came down from Southern China from where they in their turn had been driven by the Tibeto-Burmese, Thai and Chinese tribes. In the Malay peninsula the Semang had to suffer from invasions of proto—or deuteroindonesian tribes out of which latter the Malays proper came forth as a distinct people. (According to Professor Kern, the foremost authority on the Malays, the cradle of the Malay race stood in ancient Champā, the present Annam, from where they invaded Malaya and crossed over to Sumatra (Menang Krabau). From the latter place the Malays returned and settled in the Malay Peninsula which they

took thoroughly possession of until in our own days the wholesale immigration of Chinese and Tamils now threatens them with complete extinction).

The pygmies of the Philippines, Ceylon and Africa have, more or less, suffered the same fate, at the hands of other big-bodied races, as their brethren of the Malay Peninsula.

When consulting a map of the world it seems almost unthinkable that the widely separated groups of pygmies could ever have been in communication with each other. However, since we have been acquainted with the revolutionizing theories of the German geologist, A. Wegener, this seems no longer absurd. According to Wegener's hypothesis the present five continents (and Antaretica) were originally linked up into one huge common supercontinent, from which later on the two Americas separated, moving westward (which they still do!), while the peninsula of India and the Australian continent in their turn moved eastward and the Antaretic continent to the south.

When did these momentous events take place? It is clear that here one has to reckon with enormous lengths of time though it has been calculated that Greenland, the last part of America to move away from Eurasia, did so at a period separated from our time by only from 50,000—100,000 years. It is therefore possible that the separation of India and Australia from Africa took place at about the same time and that the separation of the Asiatic from the African pygmies thus dates back a hundred thousand years.

Certain scientists are of the opinion that the Australian natives represent a prae-neanderthaloid stage in the human evolution and that the pygmies represent a still earlier stage, thus being the true ancestors of present man.

A characteristic trait, which may point to the pygmies being a race anterior to the Australian, is that tatooing or scarification as well as circumcision or other forms of mutilation are all quite

unknown among them. It is also a curious fact that the pygmies, contrary to what so often is the case with big-bodied races, never or very rarely go naked.

Agriculture, with the exception of a primitive form of garden culture, is totally unknown, nor do the pygmies keep any domestic animals save a few dogs. The pygmies therefore represent the typical hunting and collecting stage in human evolution.

The pygmies do not construct proper houses or huts but usually live either in circular shaped huts or, as the Semang, they seek shelter under hastily erected windscreens which are of an entirely temporary character. All the pygmies understand how to produce fire. Pottery is an unknown art, at least among the Asiatic pygmies. With regard to arms it seems that the pygmies never have been in possession of arms for fighting human beings but only such as are destined for hunting purposes. The bow and arrow, among the Semang, now supplanted by the blow pipe, is not a weapon suitable for fighting at close quarters but rather a hunting implement wherewith to kill winged or swift moving animals such as birds and monkeys, flying dogs, etc. It may therefore be assumed with certainty that the bloody wars, so common among the big-bodied races have been unknown or at least very rare, among the dwarf peoples. It is furthermore a very important and interesting fact that the bow, in its most primitive form, is found with the pygmies who must be accepted as the inventors of this arm. According to the evolutionistic theory the bow and arrow should, however, be a later development of the short spear or javelin hurled from a throwing stick, as is still practised by the Australian natives. As the throwing stick is totally unknown among the pygmies, who, as we have seen from the above, belong to an older human stage than the Australians, this theory does not seem to fit in here.

The pygmies do not use stone implements at all and the stone axes, knives, etc., so widely found in Malaya must belong to another, now extinct, race. It seems therefore that the pygmies belong to a race anterior to the Neanderthal-Australian races going

back at least to the so-called Eolithic age. From what we know about the Andaman pygmy islanders they may even go back to a period anterior to the Eolithic, namely to a Wood-Bone and Mussel age which, it is reasonable to assume, preceded the oldest stone age. Again an important fact, pointing to the priority of the pygmies, is that they do not inter any arms or implements with their dead.

We next come to the spiritual development of the pygmies. First of all it has been noted by several profound students of these little folk that their brain power is not at all a low one but that, considered from the point of view of intellect, they are real and complete human beings who are capable of spiritual advancement. With regard to language it seems that the African pygmies as well as the Aetas of the Philippines do no longer possess a proper language but use that of the surrounding big-bodied races. It is, however, curious that they use a very archaic form of the said languages! The Semang alone possess a language of their own though this is vastly mixed with Malay and Sakai words. A test of the little known Siamese Semangs' language would in this connection prove very useful as these northernmost tribes of the Semang have not been much in touch with the Malays.

The pygmies possess a kind of verbal literature and are fond of song and dancing. The Bushmen are even famous for their melodious voices. Of musical instruments the drum is quite unknown, the pygmies having only a primitive kind of string instrument (unknown among the Semang).

Art in the form of painting or carving is only very little developed except among the Bushmen whose cave paintings are well known. (It seems, however, according to the most recent discoveries, that the splendid reliefs of animals, found in South Africa on the Karroo, are the handiwork of an extinct race of a big-bodied and highly intelligent race of hunters which much reminds of the splendid Cro-Magnon people). The Semang are known for their intricate symbolistic carvings on the comb worn by their women.

From the moral point of view it is to be noted that the relations between parents and children are all that can be desired. Generally speaking the pygmies, with the exception of the Bushmen, stand on a high moral level. One might even say that their whole social life is marked by a strong sense of altruism. Cannibalism is, of course, quite unknown, even war between the various pygmy tribes or between them and the surrounding big-bodied races is just as unknown, apart from fighting in defence when raided by the big-bodied races (Negroes or Malays).

Theft and dishonesty are, if not non-existent, extremely rare and the truthfulness of the pygmies is well known to all ardent students of these sympathetic little folk. It seems that wars, cannibalism, theft and untruthfulness all belong to a more advanced stage of humanity than that occupied by our pygmies!

With regard to sexual morality the pygmies stand also on a very high level and monogamy with the life long association of the same married partners is the rule among the majority of them. Woman is, again with the exception of the Bushmen, considered the equal of man. Marriages are all by mutual inclination, never by purchase or force. It is also to be noted that man and wife eat together, a sign of real equality of the sexes.

Totemism is, according to Skeat, unknown among the Semang and such seems also to be the case with the other pygmy tribes with the exception of the Bushmen, who are not considered true dwarfs. With regard to social institutions it is noteworthy that the dwarfs have no proper chiefs. One or another hunter, more brave and clever than the rest, may, for a time, lead the horde but properly elected chieftains, not to speak of hereditary ones, do not exist among the pygmies.

We now come to the most important and interesting question —that of the religion of the pygmies.

It must be acknowledged that they are primitive monotheists. This fact, which is quite contrary to the theories of Tylor and other

leading evolutionists, according to which all religion must begin with animism or manism (Spencer) or magic, has been and still is energetically opposed by almost the whole body of present evolutionary authorities. But as Goethe's famous saying has it "Grau teurer freund ist alle Theorie, und grün des Lebens goldner Baum" (Grey, dear friend, are all theories but green is the golden tree of life) and quite recently we see a young and eminent ethnologist, Martin P. Nilsson, admit in his excellent "*Primitive culture*" that a primitive monotheism *does* exist though he is far from accepting this fact as the source of all religion. (Primitive monotheism is found among the Aruntas of Central Australia who, characteristically enough, say that there is only one god (ein Eingott, in German) and he is not married!) Among the pygmies we also find the ideas of sin, a deluge and a blood sacrifice wherewith to atone for their sins against the Supreme Being. The pygmies believe in a soul and a life hereafter. For them there is also a kind of heaven but no hell!

Sorcery, though not unknown, is very little developed among the pygmies who are less superstitious than their big-bodied neighbours, indeed it may be said to be almost non-existant among the Andaman island pygmies.

So far Father Schmidt who, though himself a believing Roman Catholic, by reason of his well known strictly objective research work cannot be held to be open to any suspicions of partiality.

The picture he gives of the pygmy, who, for all we know, may really represent the most primitive of primitive men, is furthermore corroborated by the weighty words of the famous anthropologist, Prof. Klaatsch, who says: "Primitive man must neither be considered stupid nor bad. Our ancestors were highly intelligent beings who, with regard to individual qualities and courage, were (often) superior to their epigones of later cultures."

The result of Father Schmidt's research work and his appeal for an international committee for the study of the pygmy peoples

(before it became too late) did not bear any fruit before the world war broke out. However, sometime after peace had been re-established, His Holiness Pope Pius XI took up the matter and in 1923 it was decided to send out no less than three different expeditions, all financed by the Vatican. Rev. P. M. Vanoverbergh went to study the Negritos of the Philippines (where he had already worked for 15 years) and he succeeded in establishing the fact that these pygmies really are monotheists, besides possessing the remains of a language of their own (a non Austro-Asiatic language).

Father Schumacher, of the White Fathers, so famous for their evangelizing and civilizing work in Africa, who had worked for more than 15 years in Ruanda (a plateau lying between the Tanganyika Lake and Victoria Nyanza) took up the study of the pygmy population living there. And finally Father Schebesta was sent to Malaya to study the Semang Negritos. It is thus thanks to the interest and munificent assistance of His Holiness Pope Pius XI that we have obtained so much additional documentary information regarding the fast disappearing dwarf people before it was too late. Father Schebesta is already favourably known for his works on "*The African shield*" (published in "Anthropos"), and "*The empire of Monomotapa*" (Bibliotheca Africana). Before starting for his expedition to Malaya he spent some time in London where he had the good fortune of meeting Messrs. W. W. Skeat and C. O. Blagden and thanks to the help of Prof. Sir George A. Grierson the Colonial Office freely gave its all powerful assistance to such an extent that the British officials in Malaya all facilitated Father Schebesta's movements and studies in the most helpful and kindly manner, a fact of which our author is not unmindful.

It may be added that here in Siam His Lordship Bishop Perros of the Roman Catholic Mission did his best to collect in advance all possible information about the Siamese Semang in order to have them ready at Father Schebesta's arrival. The writer of this review had the privilege of taking part, in a small measure, in this gathering in of data with re-

gard to the habitats and number of Semang living in Siamese territory, a work in which he was excellently assisted by Colonel Frede Steiner, late of the Provincal Gendarmerie, thanks to whose energetic investigations much accurate information about the Semang of the Southern Circles was obtained. While in Bangkok Father Schebesta called on H. R. H. Prince Damrong Rajanubhab, who, out of his rich experience, gave him much valuable information. Here the author also heard the tale about Kanam, His late Majesty King Chulalongkorn's Semang page from Patalung, who was educated at the Royal Court in Bangkok but died, not long after the demise of his Royal master. King Chulalongkorn, ever intensely interested in all of his subjects, visited once a Semang camp at Patalung and in a small well written book (which is also a play) called "นายสรีนวลแจ้ง" or "*A drama about the wild Ngo*" has left us a very good description of these the smallest subjects of his Kingdom.

The Siamese call the Semang "Ngo," the word alluding to the likeness of their hair to the woolly fruit Luk Ngo, in Malay called Rambutan.

During Father Schebesta's sojourn in Bangkok the writer of these lines tried to interest him in the Chong or Porr of Chantaburi of whom, according to the late Dr. Brengues, a certain percentage (about 20%) show woolly hair which should prove a distinct negrito strain in the blood of these rather primitive forest dwellers. (*See S. S. vol. III part 2. Dr. Jean Brengues "Notes sur les populations de la région des montagnes des Cardemomes".*) Father Schebesta, however, quite rightly preferred to seek out the pure negritos as represented by the Semang of the Malay Peninsula.

The author began his studies in the state of Perak, which contains the largest Semang population, and little by little succeeded in visiting all of the more important clans and groups of both the Semang and the Senoi (Semang mixed with Sakai) as well as some Sakai camps. This extensive research work necessitated long and diffi-

cult travels by foot through the dense primeval forest, often in drenching rain and tormented by the blood sucking land leeches, or by bamboo raft or canoe down the turbulent rivers infested with treacherous rapids and crocodiles. The great Tenasserim cordillera, the back bone of Malaya, which rises to heights from 1500 to 2000 metres, had to be crossed by the author and his party several times in order to be able to visit the Semang camps in Patani, Kelantan and Pahang.

All this travelling was done by the author alone, unaccompanied by any other white man, but thanks to certain personal qualities he quickly won the unbounded confidence and affection of the small people, with whom he lived for months in their primitive camps of windscreens, living almost in the manner of their life and talking their language. It is therefore no wonder that the results obtained by the author have been rich above all expectation. The author felt at home among the kind small people and he says feelingly "I was ever in the very best company and was even better put up than in civilized Europe, apart from the dangers from wild animals and the climate. I have travelled through regions where no European has as yet set his foot and visited tribes who had never before seen a white man's face. But strange to say, when in the heart of the great forest, I never felt any fear". Like the Semang whose real home is the grand and silent virgin forest!

Our author might, of course, have travelled in greater comfort. But that would have demanded more carriers (for his luggage) and as the Malays are very much feared and hated by the Semang by reason of past cruelties in the form of slave raids and massacres, he wisely cut down the number of his followers to the lowest possible limit, often entirely dispensing with Malays and using his more than willing pygmy friends.

The Semang are called Orang Utan in Malay, i. e., forest men and the author estimates their total number at not more than 2,000 souls. The Semang live spread over a huge territory reaching from

Trang and Patalung in the north to the northern part of Pahang in the south. They are divided in the following tribes and groups:—

(1) The *Tongà* or *Mos* in the Patalung-Trang region, numbering about a hundred souls.

(2) The *Kensiu*, about 200 souls, living in Kedah-Patani.

(3) The *Kenta*, about 130 souls, including the *Kenta-Bega* with 61 individuals, in Kedah and North Perak.

(4) The *Djahai*, 800 souls, in N. E. Perak and Western Kelantan and

(5) The *Mendri*, 400 souls, in S. E. Kelantan and North Pahang.

Everyone of these tribes speaks its own language.

Outside the main groups are the *Batek Nogn*, *Kleb*, *Temo* (about 200 souls) and finally the *Sabuhn*, who racially are Semang but from the point of view of language Sakai. They number about 250 souls.

One of the results of the author's studies was to establish that the Pangan are identical with the Semang who, however, do not like to be called by that name.

The Semang are a dying people though their numbers and vitality are greater than had been expected.

Father Schebesta's expedition lasted from January 1924 to September 1925, the whole of 1924 being devoted to the study of the Semang. During 1925 the Sakai and Jakudn (Skeat's Jakun, which are of the same family as the Selung - ซมัน - of Puket) were studied and a later book will give the results of these studies. At the outset of the author's campaign he was greatly assisted by Captain Berkeley, a district officer in Perak, who, by both Malays and Semang, is affectionately called their "father and mother". Much willing assistance was also received by the author from Père Cardon and others of the French Foreign Mission.

By help of friendly words and small gifts in the form of tobacco, gaudy coloured beads, pieces of cloth, pocket mirrors, etc., the author soon won the confidence of the little folk and his sympathetic treatment of them was rumoured to the most distant camps and became a sure passport of friendship at his further travels and visits to other camps of the Semang.

Once the hearts of the small people were won they willingly showed and told the author almost all that he could desire. Many excellent photos were taken, anthropometric measurements were made, their language, poetry and simple but melodious songs were recorded on the phonograph. Collections were obtained of the Semang hunting implements such as bow and arrow, and the sumpitan or blow pipe and its cogger with poisoned darts, besides combs, women's loin girdles, etc. Even a whole skeleton was secured, a most precious booty for science.

In the following will be given an outline of the main features of the physical and spiritual life of the Semang based on the observations of our author.

Physical traits: The Semang are true dwarfs the height of the men not exceeding 151 cm. and that of the women 140 cm. Both dolichocephalic and mesocephalic heads appear among this otherwise brachycephalic race which points to a mixture with other races. The Semang have many traits in common with the Australians, the colour of their skin is a deep chocolate brown while their hair is woolly like that of the African or the Papua. They are round faced with low but vertical foreheads, the superciliary ridges are not pronounced and their eyes are large with a reddish iris. The nose is triangular shaped and the bridge very low; the mouth tends to be snoutish, the chin feeble and they have next to no beards. The Semang have fine small hands but rather ugly feet and may generally be said to be badly proportioned, though finely proportioned individuals of both sexes are met with. The Semang probably do not reach any high age though septuagenarians have been met by the author.

The Semang are strong and agile, good walkers and excellent swimmers, they climb well but not willingly, and have extraordinary seeing powers. They are a cleanly people and do not suffer from the kurap or skin disease to the same extent as the Sakai. An attractive trait is that they never pollute the water of the streams and that the place surrounding their camps is alway clean and orderly. The Semang do not seem to suffer much from sicknesses with exception of fever and rheumatism in old age and that in spite of their rude life in the great forest.

Food: The Semang being a people of hunters and collectors part of their food consists of game, such as birds, monkeys, squirrels, flying dogs and even greater animals such as sambar. The greater portion of their food is, however, vegetable and consists of edible roots, wild fruits, bamboo shoots, etc., which are collected both by the men and women. The women also make small plantations in which they cultivate yams or sweet potatoes. The Semang even go so far as to make paddy field now and then but longing for the forest soon brings them back to the latter. Sufficient food is not always easy to find even in the great virgin forest, and this problem has necessitated the breaking up of the tribes into many small communities and is probably also responsible for the decrease in numbers of the Semang.

Dress: The Semang dress is very simple the men wearing a loin cloth and the women a girdle made of fungus. In regions where the barter with the Malays is more lively both sexes dress in foreign made cloth. It is to be noted that they never go naked and when men and women bathe together they keep on their loin cloths or girdles. To the women's dress belong necklaces made of seeds or teeth and often a front band. Both sexes like to adorn their hair with red flowers. The passionate love of flowers being one of the characteristic traits of these little folk. It may be added that tatooing is unknown and that painting of the body is rare.

Habitations: The dwelling of the Semang is the wind screen made of palm leaves laid horizontally over three sticks stuck

solidly in the ground at an angle of 45° and propped up by short forkshaped supports. The sleeping place consists of a board of split bamboo, often raised a few inches over the ground. The wind screens are generally arranged in a half circle or, if there are many, in an ellipsoid circle. Sometimes two wind screens are built facing each other in such a way that their topmost fringes meet. (Perhaps the beginning of the later ridged hut?)

The biggest camp ever visited by the author counted 18 wind screens. The tale that the Semang live in caves was found to be incorrect by the author. Caves are only used as purely temporary shelters. Nor do the Semang ever take to the trees.

The only means of communication known to the Semang is the bamboo raft, they having not yet reached the stage of the dug out.

Hunting: The Semang are good hunters and, besides hunting the animals mentioned under "Food", they understand how to spear fish. They are, however, mortally afraid of the tiger against whom they are absolutely defenceless. Also the elephant is much feared as this giant of the forest often ruthlessly destroys and eats up their labouriously made plantations. The Semang never hunt the elephant but always make wide detours when they meet the big pachyderms.

Weapons and implements: These are all made of bamboo, which is quite indispensable to the Semang. Indeed it may be said the Semang still live in the bamboo age. At a not very distant time the Semang all used the bow and arrow; but for these has now been substituted the blow pipe which, however, is a Sakai invention adopted by the Semang. The blow pipe is made of bamboo and the Semang hunter is a masterly shot who unerringly hits his quarry at distances from 30-50 metres. The poisonous juice which is smeared on the darts, is won from cuttings in the bark of the famous Ipoh or Upastree. With 30-40 such darts in his cogger the hunter has sufficient ammunition for a week's hunting. After having been smeared on the tips

of the darts the poison is hardened in fire. Fresh poison kills a monkey in two minutes. The Semang knows certain antidotes against the Ipoh poison, one of which seems to be the eating of earth.

The blow pipe is the only weapon of the Semang and his other implements, such as primitive spades for the digging of roots, etc., are all made of bamboo. The few iron knives, possessed by the Semang, have been obtained by barter from the Malays and through all his wanderings the author only once met a Semang iron smith.

Arts and Crafts: The author was told about pictures made by the Semang in the caves but never succeeded in seeing them. They may therefore not exist at all. The only kind of art possessed by the dwarfs is their symbolistic carvings of the bamboo combs worn in their hair by the Semang women which has been so excellently treated by Skeat. Not many crafts are known by the Semang but they understand how to make mats of Hapoi leaves and rattan (used for roof covers by the Malays). These they barter away together with cleft rattan to the Malays in exchange for rice, tobacco, salt, knives, cloth and other things that constitute their few necessities.

Social order: The Semang have no chiefs and their nomadic life prevents the establishing of penghulus or village headmen; but a deep respect for the elders is a marked trait and the advice of the elders is always listened to by the inhabitants of the camp. The daily work to uphold life is divided between the two sexes in the following manner. The men do the hunting, catch fish, collect edible roots and fruits in the forest, and erect and repair the wind screens. The women take care of the children, fetch water, bring firewood, prepare the food and take care of their primitive gardens. As the Semang understand neither pottery nor basket weaving, hollow bamboos are used as water receptacles, and indeed these are still extensively used in N. and E. Siam among Lão, Karen, Khmer and most of the hill tribes. In the day time only the oldest people and women with very young children are left in the camp. Unlike the women of other primitive people the Semang women do not bear the brunt of

the work, the men assisting them willingly. The Semang woman is not a slave but the man's equal here as in other circumstances.

It has been said that communism exists among the Semang. This is true only in a certain degree. Each community is entitled to a certain area of the forest inside which they lead their nomadic life and where hunting and the collection of food stuffs is open for all the members of that particular group. Certain groups of Ipoh or Durian trees may, however, have their distinct individual owners.

Weapons and tools are, of course, also private property. Also the woman has her personal property, such as her dress, ornaments, combs, etc., the wind screen too is her property. On divorce her former husband must always leave her her wind screen. A certain communism exists with regard to food. Has one family gathered plenty of food and another has got little or none, the latter will be supplied with what is necessary by the former. This is, however, done quite voluntarily and in an altogether altruistic spirit.

Old people among the Semang are very respected and children show all desirable respect to their parents whom they never address as "thou" (pai) but as "father" (ā) or "mother" (bō).

The Semang do not use personal names when calling or addressing anybody but use terms of relationship (just as among Thai and Khmer). Grand parents are called: dodu; grandfather: ta; grandmother: ia; a sister of same age: mir ber; an elder sister: pān; a younger sister: ber; an uncle: āi toi and so on. As will be seen it is a system akin to that in use among other Indo-Chinese people.

The Semang often catch wild pigs in snares; and pets in the form of small pigs or monkeys are often seen in their camps. These pets become very tame and are never killed for food. Is this the beginning of totemism? The Semang simply say that they cannot bear in their hearts to kill their pets. Such pets may even be seen sucking the breasts of the women (as is so common among the Sakai).

Birth: The negrito woman loves many children and gives birth easily. The enceinte woman does not spare herself but goes on working up to the very day she gives birth. After birth the navel-string is cut with a bamboo knife (quite as is done in Siam, Cambodia, Burma and other places). The children are given names after flowers, trees, plants, rivulets or hills, hence the many Malay names among the Semang. If a child dies the custom is to let 3 years pass before the next is born. Vaughan Stevens, a Dane (?), whose proper name was Svenson, and who, more than 30 years ago, travelled as collector for the Berlin Etnographical Museum, seems to have known the Semang intimately and says that according to their belief there is a so-called soul bird Tiltoltapa which brings the soul into the womb of the enceinte woman. Though Vaughan Stevens is known for his vivid imagination, not to say untruthfulness, there seems to be some truth in his tale as the Kenta Negritos believe that the soul bird actually creates the foetus in the womb of the woman.

Maturity ceremonies: seem to be unkown among the Semang, and the custom of ear and nose boring has come from the Sakai.

Marriages: are nearly always unions of love and all are contracted voluntarily without any pressure on the part of the parents. The lover, after having obtained the consent of the girl, goes to her father and presents him with sundry small gifts, the bridegroom and bride next eat a meal together whereafter they are considered husband and wife. The married couple spend some time alone in the forest, a kind of honey moon, before they return to the camp to set up their own wind screen. As there are much too few girls among the Semang all women become married. The marriageable age of the girls is 15-16 years, but sometimes they are married already in their 13th to 14th year. Custom has it that the son-in-law, during the first two years of his marriage, keeps near to his parents-in-law and works for them (a custom not unknown among the Khmer and Khā tribes in Indo-China). Lifelong unions are not, as among the other pygmy people, the rule with the Semang. Half

of the men and women have been married two or three times. However, if there are children the parents generally keep together. If the wife deserts her husband her father must return the presents received from the son-in-law, if on the other hand the man is the deserter he receives nothing. Immorality with regard to sexual relations seems to be unknown, at least no case was known to the author. The physical reasons for child birth are well known to the Semang (perhaps with the exception of the Kenta).

A love potion, Cenwei, used both before and after marriage and made of the female Cenwei plant is well known, and it is much sought by the Malays, who believe that the Semang are great sorcerers. This flower is dried and its ashes mixed with oil whereafter this concoction is smeared on the front and breast of the person whose love is desired. The effect is said to be infallible! Marriages between brother and sister, cousins or children of brothers and sisters-in-law are strictly forbidden. Monogamy is, as we have seen, the invariable rule.

Burial: The author succeeded in being present at a Semang burial. The corpse wrapped in cloth but with uncovered face, was laid in a niche hollowed out in the side of a not very deep trench. The face of the dead was turned west towards paradise, which lies in the ocean toward sunset. Before being placed in the tomb the corpse was washed and the niche, its future resting place, was carefully clothed with mats. After the corpse had been placed in the niche a man descended into the trench and declaimed a sort of prayer or sermon the idea of which was that the soul of the deceased had now gone west to the paradise where there are no tigers and no sorrows. There the soul dwells in happiness and may deck its hair with red flowers. The prayer concluded with the earnest wish that there might be no more illness and ended characteristically with the words "Who would offend you" (the spirit). After the prayer all present assisted with their hands to fill in the trench. Next a libation of water was poured on the grave, a wind screen built over it and finally two fires were lighted at each end of the windscreen. The burial was over and the family and friends went into the jungle—to weep! Altogether a very touching

function which can only increase one's sympathy for these kind hearted little folk. For five days after the burial the death song sounds in the camp whereafter this is moved to another place as far away from the grave as possible. The mourning for the dead lasts one month. The reason for moving the camp is that the soul of the dead may not feel happy and will come back to torment the living in the old camp.

Spiritual powers: The Semang must be considered to occupy a high moral level as war, murder and theft are quite unknown and untruthfulness is rare among them. One is indeed much tempted to see in them the remains of that human race which lived in the fabled golden age many tens of thousand years ago! Intellectually the Semang are of an inquiring mind and they often put very intelligent questions to the author, who considered these little folk as complete and very wide-awake human beings.

Music, song and dance: The negritos love music, song and dancing. They understand well to sing in choir and accompany their songs and dancing with the rhythmical striking of hollow bamboos (otherwise used for carrying water) against the ground. The dancing of the young girls is quite graceful. They often possess slender figures and quite pretty faces; and for the dance they are dressed in gaudy coloured pieces of cloth with garlands of leaves round their necks, their hair being decked with the beloved red flowers.

The Semang possess not a little poetry among which the song about the Kra monkey is very popular among them. The author confesses that, when sitting at the camp fire listening to their song and looking on the graceful movements of the young dancers, he was quite fascinated especially as the young girls behave very modestly.

Religion: Being of a shy and quiet but thoughtful disposition of mind it was to be expected that the Semang should occupy a somewhat superior stage with regard to religious beliefs and in this expectation we are not disappointed. However, it was no easy task for the author to arrive at a clear understanding of what these little folk really believe.

The first time our author made acquaintance with the Semang religious beliefs and practices was during a heavy thunderstorm. The Negritos are very much afraid of the thunder believing that the Supreme Being, Karei, shows his anger with their sins through the thunder and lightning.

To appease Karei's anger the women (and sometimes also the men) perform a kind of ritual offering up of a blood sacrifice. This is done in the following manner: The women, standing in the streaming rain with the thunder rolling over their heads, cut their skin with a bamboo knife and collect the blood in the hollow of their hands whereafter they pour it into a bamboo receptable filled with water. Some drops are poured on the ground and the remainder thrown partly in the air, in the direction of the thunderstorm, partly to the four corners of the world. All the while the women are crying "chub chub", i. e., go away! go away! The libation of blood and water is destined for Manoid, Karei's "wife", who lives in the underworld while the portion thrown in the air is a sacrifice to Karei himself.

The Semang though believing in a paradise, where the life hereafter is spent, do not acknowledge the existence of a hell. All sins must be atoned for during this life on earth. They also believe that husband and wife will meet each other in the next life. After death the souls, yurl, go west to the sunset land (paradise), there they live by day but by night they may come back and fly round the camps as birds uttering their dolorous cries. As soon as the Semang hear this cry all camp fires are immediately extinguished and everybody keeps quiet. In paradise where there is neither night nor tigers and where the air is cool and agreeable, lives Yegn and his wife, the Semang Adam and Eve, the first men. These first human beings had to flee away on a raft when the giant Berok ape started to burn up the earth, i. e., the Malay Peninsula.

According to the Jahai Negritos Karei and Manoid have three sons: Ta Pedn, Tegreg and Karpegn and a daughter Takel. Karei is severe he demands the blood sacrifice and kills with thunder

and lightning. Ta Pedn, however, intercedes for man, he is good while Karei is bad. Sometimes Ta Pedn is considered the creator of the world.

The author experienced the greatest difficulties in obtaining clear and precise answers to his questions and finally had to call a "theological conference" to get order out of chaos.

He was now told that Karei is the greatest of all the gods. He is hot like fire, nobody can endure the sight of him. He resembles the Siamang monkey (Symphalangus syndactylus) and is black of colour. He punishes man's sins by lightning, by illness and by attacks from the tiger. To steal, to lie, to use unseemly words or to mock captured animals (who cannot defend themselves) are sins against Karei.

When the children are naughty they are frightened by the mere mention of Karei's name. Certain animals are sacred to Karei, these are called Karei's servants. Some of the Semang tribes possess a complete cosmology of which the author gives a diagram in his book. Batu Ribu is a hill in Djahai land, on this hill which is the centre of the world there grew formerly a tree that reached up into heaven (a kind of Phra Meru); on a long beam in heaven sits Karei (or Kaei) with his son (some say his brother) Ta Pedn but above them is a great Hala (Medicine man) Kalchegn or Begyaek who holds the sun in a liana. A ladder between heaven and earth is also included in this cosmology. (The tree waxing into heaven is also found in Thai folklore). The Semang have a rich collection of myths about the first things but some of them seem rather contradictory and foggy. The Kensiu Semang say that the first two living creatures were Ta Pedn and Mancid. They had no parents. By help of a giant beetle the earth was drawn out of the mud sea. When the earth had become dry plants and trees grew forth. Next Karei made a boy and a girl of clay, their names were Djapong and Paig, man's ancestors. Ta Pedn, however, became dissatisfied with man and transformed some of them into animals! (Did not recently

a certain German savant tell us that the monkeys were degenerated men!).

Originally all men looked like Malays (though some say they were apes!) Then came from the land of Benua, i. e., Siam, Raja Berok (a monkey prince) to make war against the Siamang monkeys. He set fire to the forest (on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula—the Semang "world" embraces only Further India and at that but a small part of it) and all men had to flee westward into the interior. The devastating forest fire made the hair of the Semang curly! (All this talk of war between monkeys does not seem to represent primitive ideas but rather to be an echo of the Ramayana with Hanuman, Bali and Sukrib and their monkey armies).

The Semang also have a cult hero, Djemaunpes by name, who discovered the fire and (as another Tubal Cain) was the first to work in metals. For all we know there may have been far seeing personalities, even geniuses, among the Negritos but no progress was possible because the human material was too small and the tribes too scattered, the means of livelihood too poor. Still who would deny that our little folk are a gay and contented lot?

The Semang believe in a kind of fairies called Cenoi who live in the flowers and who are friendly to man, an attractive belief harking back to the epoch of innocence.

The sun is considered female and the moon male, the moon's children are the stars. As all other orientals the Semang also believe that an eclipse of the moon is caused by a huge dragon which tries to swallow it.

Magic is known among the Semang but is little developed. Both sexes wear strings made of a certain kind of fungus round their bodies to protect them against the evil influence of "sun rain". "Sun rain" falls when the great earth snake creeps up into the heaven in order to get a bath. When taking its bath the serpent's body shines forth in all the colours of the rainbow and in fact becomes the rain bow—Hura—itself. After its bath the serpent shakes

the water off its body and this, falling down on earth, becomes the fatal "sun rain". The Semang have medicine men or sorcerers, the so-called Hala, who, however, do not play any great rôle, the Semang being less superstitious than the Sakai and Yakudn and especially the Malays. Fear of spirits is also not very strong and what exists of it is clearly due to later ideas transmitted from the Malays who very much dread the feared "hantus". The Semang can therefore hardly be called animists. As magic may be accepted the symbolical carvings on the combs worn in the hair by the Semang women and those on the men's blow pipes and eggers. These carvings are believed to protect the women against sickness and bestow ability on the user of the blow pipe, but they are probably not indigenous.

But to come back to the purely religious question our author after much perplexity about the relative positions of Karei and Ta Pedn finally discovered, during a stay among the Kensiu Negritos, that these two names really cover the same person, the Djahai calling God Karei while the Kensiu call Him Ta Pedn. All the different tribes and clans of the Semang thus believe in a Supreme Being, a thunder god and creator, whose originally name was Ta Pedn or Keto, by the southern tribes called Karei or Kaei who evidently have also mixed up primitive and later ideas to such a degree that Pedn sometimes is taken as the son or brother of Karei though he really is identical with him. It is thus reasonable to consider the Semang as primitive monotheists.

Language: The Semang can nearly all speak Malay but they possess a language of their own which, though containing a great number of Malay, Sakai and Mon words, does not belong to the Austro-asiatic group of languages. A peculiarity is the composition of the consonants "bn", "dn" and "gn" at the end of the words, so for instance in personal names such as Ramegn, Djantegn or in the tribal ones of Teladn, Sabudn. Our author succeeded in mastering the Djahai language and due to this linguistical feat as well as to his many gramophone records of Semang songs and poetry it may be expected that we soon may arrive at some concrete facts about the structure of the Semang language and its relation or non-rela-

tionship to other languages. So far it seems that the Semang language is quite well developed as long as it only has to do with the pygmies' own life and surroundings. It possesses prefixes and has dual forms, the latter quality pointing to a distinct archaic form of language. The numerals are mostly Malay, some tribes can only count up to three in their own language, in the Djahai language only the numeral one being in this language.

Curiously enough the Semang have a tradition that they formerly possessed a written language but that this was lost when they were driven from the plains into the forest and hills.

As already mentioned there are now only a few Semangs left in Siamese Malaya though they may formerly have roamed as far north as Chayā. The Tongà or Mos, who now clothe themselves more or less as Siamese, live in the hill forest between Patalung and Trang and speak a language unintelligible to other Semang tribes. It would therefore be very useful if any members of or sympathizers with the aims of the Siam Society would take up the study of their language or at least send in collections of words before it becomes too late. This is so much the more necessary as the Tongà and Mos languages, being quite uninfluenced by Malay, in all probability represent the pure Semang language. The name Patalung is in reality a Negrito word Patalogn, said to be the name of a Negrito man who met his end by falling down from the top of one of those tall lime stone hills which characterize the Patalung landscape. A careful study of the local names of hills, rivers and even villages in that part of the country would probably bring a number of other Semang names to the light.

Siamese Semang: The Tongà Semang are of a much smaller stature than those living in Perak, this also pointing to a purer origin, and as their southern brethren they are monotheists, believing in a Supreme Being called Kagei, while they also have the expiation blood sacrifice.

The Patani Semang belong to the Kensiu tribe and were formerly very numerous; as a matter of fact the Malay peasant

population of this Circle is very much mixed with Semang blood. The west coast Malays know this well and often look down on them, considering their Patani relations as rustic uncouth fellows.

His Excellency Phraya Dejanujit, formerly for many years a Lord Lieutenant of the Patani Circle, is also of the opinion that the Patani Malays are strongly mixed with Semang (just as the Perak Malays are mixed with Sakai). It is a curious thing that it is next to impossible to find a Malay who can speak the Semang language, also that the Malay always and wrongly call the Semang Sakai.

Very little has, so far, been known of the history of the Semang. So much the more interesting is it to find quite a lot of information about the position of this little folk in Patani more than 300 years ago in a comparatively unknown book called "*The adventures of John Smith in Malaya: 1600-1605*", published in London 1909 in English by *A. Hale*. John Smith, an Englishman, was in the employ of the Dutch East India Company and lived for many years in Patani as the Malay Queen's adviser. He conducted a campaign against the Perak Malays and their Sakai allies. John Smith's forces were partly made up by Semang bowmen (an interesting point showing that the blow pipe at that time had not yet been adopted by the Semang) and he tells how considerately the Semang were treated by the Patani Malays who admitted that the Semang were the real owners of the land. The Semang were even allotted places of honour at certain important state functions such as the enthronement of a new Raja. (The same prerogative was, at least up till a few years ago, given to the Lawā and the Khamu at similar functions in Chieng Mai and Luang Phrabang respectively).

At the conclusion of his fascinating narrative Father Schebesta stresses the necessity of taking completely the control over the Semang and Sakai out of the hands of the Malay, who are quite unfit for that task, and to hand it over, as soon as possible, to European officials. (Why not to the Game Wardens?) The Malays have always been very oppressive and cruel to both peoples (see *Sir Hugh Clifford's* masterly descriptions of the Sakai's martyrdom in his

brilliant book "*On the further side of silence*"). Though the Malays are no longer allowed to kill and enslave these gentle little folk they still squeeze and cheat them in many ways. For a load of Gutta percha or Damar resin, on which the Malay gains a small fortune, he pays the poor Semang next to nothing, and so on.

The continued existence of the Semang as a race is only a question of time, already opium—from the Chinese—and superstition —from the Malays—begin to undermine their physical and spiritual habitus. It is therefore urgently necessary to take steps to protect the Semang (and Sakai) if not for anything else then for the sake of science which is still in need of their continued existence.

May the respective authorities in Siamese and British Malaya live up to their responsibility in this very important matter!

And herewith be Father Schebesta's book recommended to the careful study of all who are interested in these little folk who can only win by a closer acquaintance so much the more as they most probably represent the true ancestors of mankind.

Bangkok, July 1st. 1929.

A List of the Institutions with which the Siam Society exchanges Publications.

N. B. The abbreviation JSS, after an entry, indicates that the institution receives the JSS only: NH indicates that it receives the NHS only. Those institutions without these initials receive both publications.

AUSTRIA.

ANTHROPOS,
St. Gabriel-Mödling bei Wien.
(JSS.)

AUSTRALIA.

THE AUSTRALIAN MUSEUM,
Sydney.
(NH.)

BELGIUM.

UNIVERSITE DE LOUVAIN.

LE GERFAUT,
21, Square Prince Charles,
Bruxelles-Laeken
(NH.)

BURMAH.

BURMAH RESEARCH SOCIETY,
Rangoon.

CEYLON.

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
CEYLON BRANCH,
Colombo.

THE COLOMBO MUSEUM,
Colombo.
(NH.)

CHINA.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
NORTH CHINA BRANCH,
Shanghai.
(JSS.)

DENMARK.

THE ROYAL LIBRARY,
Copenhagen.

EAST-INDIES (DUTCH).

KONINKLIJK BATAVIAASCH
GENOOTSCHAP,
Java.
(JSS.)

FRANCE.

ASSOCIATION FRANÇAISE DES
AMIS DE L'ORIENT,
Paris.
(JSS.)

BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE,
Paris.

ECOLE NATIONALE DES LANGUES
ORIENTALES VIVANTES,
Paris.
(JSS.)

MUSEE GUIMET,
6 Place d'Iéna,
Paris, XVI.
(JSS.)

SOCIETE ASIATIQUE,
1 rue de Seine,
Paris, VI.
(JSS.)

SOCIETE DE LINGUISTIQUE,
Paris.
(JSS.)

GERMANY.

ASIA MAJOR,
Berlin.
(JSS.)

DEUTSCHE MORGENLAENDISCHE GESELLSCHAFT,
Halle.
(JSS.)

SEMINAR FUER ORIENTALISCHE SPRACHEN,
Leipzig.
(JSS.)

STAATLICHES MUSEUM FUER VOELKERKUNDE,
11 Königgrätzer,
Berlin, S. W. 11.
(JSS.)

WELTWIRTSCHAFLICHES INSTITUT FUER LAND-UND SEE-VERKEHR,
Kiel.

GREAT BRITAIN.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY,
Oxford.

BRITISH MUSEUM,
London.

THE INDIA OFFICE,
London.

THE INDIA SOCIETY,
London.
(JSS.)

THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE,
52 Upper Bedford Place,
Russell Square,
London.
(JSS.)

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND,
14 Grosvenor Street,
London.
(JSS).

THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY,
London.
(JSS.)

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES,
Finsbury Circus,
London, E. C. 2.
(JSS.)

THE SCIENCE MUSEUM,
South Kensington,
London, S. W. 7.
(NH.)

HOLLAND.

KONINKLIJK INSTITUUT VOOR DE TAAL-,LAND EN VOLKENKUNDE VAN NEDERLANDSCH-INDIE,
The Hague.
(JSS.)

KERN INSTITUTE,
Leyden,
(JSS.)

KOLONIAAL INSTITUUT,
Amsterdam.

UNIVERSITY OF LEYDEN,
Leyden.

INDIA.

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL,
1 Park Street,
Calcutta.

DIRECTOR GENERAL OF
ARCHAEOLOGY IN INDIA,
(JSS.)

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
BOMBAY BRANCH,
Bombay.

ZOOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA,
INDIA MUSEUM,
Calcutta.
(NH.)

INDO-CHINA (FRENCH)

ECOLE FRANCAISE
D'EXTREME-ORIENT,
Hanoi.

EXTREME-ASIE,
206 rue Nationale,
Saigon.
(JSS.)

SOCIETE DES ETUDES
INDOCHINOISES,
Saigon.

ITALY

BIBLIOTECA LAURENZIANA,
Florence.

LABORATORIO DI ZOOLOGIA
GENERALE E AGRARIA,
(Portici) Napoli.
(NH.)

REALE ACCADEMIA DEI LINCEI,
Florence.
(JSS.)

SCUOLA ORIENTALE,
Rome.
(JSS.)

SOCIETA ITALIANA DI SCIENZE
NATURALI,
Milano.
(NH.)

JAPAN.

THE UNIVERSITY OF TOKYO,
Tokyo.

NORWAY.

TROMSO MUSEUM,
Tromso.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.

BUREAU OF SCIENCE,
Manila.
(NH.)

PHILIPPINE LIBRARY AND
MUSEUM,
Manila.

SARAWAK.

SARAWAK MUSEUM,
Sarawak.
(NH.)

SIAM.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY,
Bangkok.

S. S. & F. M. S.

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,
MALAYAN BRANCH,
Singapore.

THE SINGAPORE NATURALIST,
Singapore.
(NH.)

SWEDEN.

SOCIETE ROYALE DES SCIENCES,
Upsala.
(JSS.)

SWITZERLAND.

DIE NATURFORSCHENDE
GESELLSCHAFT,
Basel.
(NH.)

U. S. A.

THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL
SOCIETY,
Newhaven.
(JSS.)

THE BOSTON SOCIETY OF
NATURAL HISTORY,
27th. St. Central Park West,
New York.
(NH.)

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
Washington, D. C.

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY,
New York.

MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS,
Boston, (Mass).
(JSS.)

THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION,
Washington, D. C.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
Berkeley, Cal.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
New York City.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,
Cambridge, (Mass).

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS,
Urbana.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY.

YALE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

VATICAN.

BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA.

Annual Report for 1929.

On the 26th February 1929 the Siam Society completed the first twenty-five years of its existence, and it is gratifying to record that in this year the Society has shown continued vitality and that the aims for which it was established have been followed with a great measure of success. The revival of interest in the work of the Society, referred to in the annual reports since the war, has been more than sustained, and the increase in the number of Siamese members is very satisfactory. This, perhaps, is the best augury for the continued usefulness of the Society.

His Majesty the King, the Patron, with Her Majesty the Queen, again honoured the Society by being present at the General Meeting in May when Prof. Col. F. J. M. Stratton, leader of the British Eclipse Expedition to Siam delivered a lecture on "The Sun."

Membership.

During the year the number of ordinary members elected was 38 as compared with 31 in 1928, 23 in 1927 and 30 in 1926. There were 13 resignations and 8 removals. One death, that of Monsieur J. Grenard, has also to be recorded with regret. The number of ordinary members was thus increased by sixteen.

The deaths of three Honorary members, Sir Ernest Satow, Dr. H. Campbell Highet, and Mr. H. C. Robinson, and of one Corresponding Member, Mr. G. C. B. Stirling, have also to be recorded with regret. Sir Ernest Satow and Mr. Stirling held their appointments from the inception of the Society. Dr. H. Campbell Highet was an active member for many years, a past President, and a frequent contributor to the Journal while resident in Siam, and Mr. H. C. Robinson had contributed to the Natural History Supplement of the Journal from time to time.

The membership on January 1st, 1930, was:—

Honorary	Corresponding	Life	Ordinary	Free
18	10	2	225	3

making a total of 258, as compared with 246 in 1928, 233 in 1927 and 253 in 1926.

The Council.

The membership of the Council remained as in 1928, all the members being re-elected at the annual meeting in February 1929. The President (Professor G. Coedès) was absent in Europe during part of the period under review, and in that time his appointment as Director of the Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient was announced. On the eve of his departure from Siam at the end of the year the Society in large numbers entertained the President and Madame Coedès to a farewell dinner at Phya Thai Palace, at which the Vice-Patron, H. R. H. Prince Damrong, presided. The senior Vice-President (Phya Indra Montri) was also absent in Europe for a part of the year, and the duties of Acting-President and chairman of Council have been carried out efficiently by Major Erik Seidenfaden. Major Ladell, on return from leave, took up the duties of Assistant Librarian. Twelve meetings of the Council were held.

The Council laid a wreath before the remains of His late Royal Highness Prince Mahidol at the Suan Kularb palace, on November 4th.

The Council voted a donation of Tcs. 100 to the repair fund of Phra Sri Ratana Sasdaram monastery (Wat Phra Keo).

On the occasion of His Majesty's birthday both the Vice-Patron and the Honorary Vice-President received promotion in Princely rank, and the President on behalf of the Council and the Society conveyed congratulations on the honours conferred.

Accounts.

The Finance Committee of the Council have continued to act throughout the year, and prepared the Budget for 1930.

The Society's principal source of income, which is from Members' subscriptions, has been well maintained during the past year, being in fact only Tcs. 25 less than in 1928, and the income from sales was satisfactory, even if less than in 1928, which was in this respect a record year. There has been a continued and gratifying demand

for the publications of the Society, and the year's figures include the sale of three complete sets of the Journal.

On the other hand, the expenditure has been greatly reduced, partly owing to the fact that the fourth part of Craib's Flora was not ready for publication.

The reduction in expenditure must, however, be largely ascribed to the action of the Council, adopted in 1928, in making a definite Budget beforehand.

The Budget prepared in 1928 has been closely adhered to with the result that Tcs. 1,800 have been saved on the cost of producing the Journal, and minor economies have been effected in Stationery and Postages.

The financial position has now permitted the commencement of the important work of re-printing such numbers of the Journal as are out-of-print, as the Journal is in constant demand for sale in complete sets. A start has been made with Volume I, parts 1 and 2, of which 100 copies have been re-printed at a cost of Tcs. 660. This is on sale to members at Tcs. 8– and to non-members at Tcs. 10– per copy.

As foreshadowed in last year's report, the Council decided to form a reserve fund by placing a sum of Tcs. 2,000 on fixed deposit, this being approximately the revenue derived from sales during 1928, and therefore in the nature of capital. This fund will be available for publications of an exceptional character, and the Council proposes to add to it an equal sum from the cash balance carried forward for 1929.

Dictionary.

The compilation of the Siamese-English-French dictionary which was begun in 1927 was continued.

Natural History Museum.

The Memorandum prepared by the Committee appointed to report on the establishment of a Natural History Museum suggested

that such a museum might with advantage be incorporated with the Government Economic Museum. This document was forwarded by the Council to H. R. H. the Minister of Commerce and Communications and is under consideration.

THE 25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE FORMATION OF THE SOCIETY.

The decision of the general body of members that this anniversary would be most fittingly celebrated by the erection of a permanent home has received substantial support. Subscriptions and gifts have now reached a figure which the Council feel has justified them in approaching Mr. E. Healey, A.R.C.A., who is a member of the Society, and in asking him to draw up specifications for the proposed building. Mr. Healey has met the Council very generously in this matter, and the thanks of the Society as a whole are due to him in this connection. With the generous cooperation of H. H. Prince Dhani, the Council has selected an admirable site in the grounds of the Chulalankarana University, with access from both Phya Thai and Rama I. roads. It is hoped to proceed with the erection of the building during the coming year.

In connection with the Jubilee the Council have also decided to issue a Commemorative Volume. It was suggested by the Vice-Patron, H. R. H. Prince Damrong, that no more suitable subject could be chosen than the Evolution of Siamese Script, and the Council have adopted this suggestion. The publication of the volume depends naturally on the support received, and, if sufficient is forthcoming it is hoped to publish this book in 1930.

CONGRESSES, ETC.

The President represented the Society at the Centenary of the Ecole Centrale des Arts et Manufactures held in Paris in May.

An invitation having been received to be represented at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the American Academy of Arts and Letters at New York in April, the Council asked Dr. Eldon R. James to represent the Society on that occasion. Unfortunately this request did not reach Dr. James in time to enable him to attend the anniversary.

General Meetings.

On May 30th Professor Col. F. J. M. Stratton read a learned paper on "The Sun". On this occasion Their Majesties the King and Queen honoured the Society with their presence at the meeting.

On July 31st Mr. W. R. Moore read a paper on the "Hill Tribes in Siam and the Shan States". The paper was illustrated by many beautiful coloured lantern slides prepared by the author.

On October 30th Sir Edward Cook, C. S. I., C. I. E., read an interesting paper on "Akbar and the Moghul Empire" in October. This paper was profusely illustrated by lantern slides.

Natural History Section.

On March 19th Dr. W. Credner, who is now Professor of Geography at Canton University, read a paper on "The Scenery of Siam in its relation to Geology," illustrated by a series of remarkable photographs taken by the author in his various journeys throughout Siam.

On April 24th Professor Dr. Johannes Schmidt, leader of the Dana scientific expedition, read a paper on "The Migration of the Eel." This was admirably illustrated by photographs taken by the expedition.

On November 25th Luang Choola Jeebijjadhara, of the Department of Fisheries, read a paper entitled "Some Observations on the Breeding of the Fighting Fish," and the paper was preceded by an excellent exhibition of specimens.

The Journal.

Two parts of the Journal were issued, Vol. XXIII, Part 1 and Part 2.

Vol. XXIII, Part 1, contained the paper on "The Indian Religion of the Goddess Shakti" by Dr. Hans Koester and a "Note sur la revision des lois siamoises en 1805" by M. R. Lingat.

Vol XXIII, Part 2 included the first part of "Adversaria on Elephant Hunting" by Phya Indra Montri, a "Note sur le nom du Cap Liant" by M. J. Burnay, and a paper entitled "De l'origine des échelles musicales javano-balinaises" by Dr. J. Kunst, with four plates.

One Natural History Supplement was published, Vol. VIII, No. 1.

Included in this number were a paper by Dr. Credner on "Problems of Geomorphology in Siam" and some "Notes on Traps made by the Hill Peoples of Siam," with numerous plates by Mr. H. R. G. Garrett.

In the absence of Professor Cœdès, M. J. Burnay acted as Editor of the Journal, and Mr. E. J. Godfrey continued as Assistant Editor, in charge of the Natural History Supplement.

Florae Siamensis Enumeratio.

It was not found possible to proceed with the publication of Part IV of the above work, but it is hoped to do so in the coming year.

Excursions.

The excursion arranged to Petchaburi on August 18th attracted many members and their friends, to the number of nearly sixty and proved a great success. Thanks are due to the Agriculture, Travel and Transport Section for the excellence of the arrangements made.

Gift.

The following gift was received in the course of the year for the Society's library: A booklet in Memory of King Chulalongkorn, from the Honorary President, H. R. H. the Prince of Nagor Svarga.

Statement of Receipts and Expenditure for the year 1929.

Receipts.

To Balance brought forward from 1928			Tcs. 2,445.23
,, Subscriptions received for 1928	Tcs.	25.00	
do. do. 1929	,,	5,175.00	
do. do. 1930	,,	175.00	5,375.00
To Surplus on foreign exchange			0.65
,, Luzac & Co.,—a/c sales 1927/8			651.39
,, Otto Harrassowitz—a/c sale 1928			75.92
,, Sales of Journals			804.64
,, Sales of Craib's Flora of Siam			519.57
,, Sales of Stamp catalogue			14.30
,, Interest on current a/c			46.12
		Tcs.	9,932.82

Reserve Fund Account.

To Balances on Fixed Deposit	Tcs.	2,000.00

Building Fund Account.

To Balances on Fixed Deposit		16,000.00
,, Balance on Current account at Bank		4,048.67
Total received		20,048.67
Monthly subscriptions not yet due		310.00
Estimated Interest accrued		620.00
Amounts promised		2,000.00
State of the Fund at December 31st, 1929.	Tcs.	22,978.67

Examined and found to agree with the books and vouchers.

G. R. BROOKS,
Hon. Auditor.

Bangkok, January 12th, 1930.

Expenditure.

By Furniture and Fittings	Tcs.	32.20
,, Clerk's wages		270.00
,, Coolie's wages		264.00
,, Postages—Hon. Treasurer		37.70
,, Postages—Hon. Secretary		88.28
,, Telegram to Ecole Centrale, Paris		11.90
,, Books bound for Library		109.00
,, Minute book for Dictionary Committee		4.50
,, Blocks and Plates for Journals		72.50
,, Printing Journal		1,212.00
,, Printing Natural History Supplement		522.00
,, Re-printing Volume I of Journal		600.00
,, Printing Authors' separates		85.50
,, Stationery		135.05
,, Stamped post-cards		50.00
,, Addressing, wrapping and forwarding of Journals		17.50
,, Printing post-cards and circulars		198.50
,, Postages on forwarding Journals		133.17
,, Fire Insurance Premium		85.39
,, Book purchased		13.98
,, Sundries for Library, carpenter's work, etc.		16.00
,, Hire of Post Office box		20.00
,, Meeting expenses: Electric installations for lantern and hire of fans		143.41
,, Preliminary expenses re Jubilee book		152.70
,, Wreath placed upon the Urn of the late H. R. H. Prince Mahidol		25.00
,, Subscription towards repair of Wat Phra Sri Rattanasasdaram		100.00
,, Payment on account to Bangkok Times Press, Ltd.		100.00
Total expenditure		4,505.28
,, Transferred to Reserve Fund, as per contra		2,000.00
,, Balance carried forward to 1930		3,427.54
	Tcs.	9,932.82

C. J. HOUSE, Hon. Treasurer.

Subscriptions outstanding.

1929 .. .. Tcs. 175

Number of Members as at 31st December 1929.

Honorary	18	Ordinary	225
Corresponding	16	Free	3
Life	2		
		Total	258

[Published for the Siam Society by J. Burnay, Editor, and printed at the Bangkok Times Printing Office, Bangkok, in April, 1930]

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"A book that is shut is but a block"

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